

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
Rebellion, 1745 and 1746.
CONTAINING,

A full ACCOUNT of its RISE, PRO-
GRESS and EXTINCTION.

The CHARACTER of the HIGHLANDERS,
and their CHIEFTAINS.

All the DECLARATIONS of the PRETENDER, and
the Journal of his Marches through ENGLAND, as published by himself; with Ob-
servations.

L I K E W I S E,

A particular DESCRIPTION of all the BATTLES,
SKIRMISHES and SIEGES, with many Inci-
dents hitherto not made publick.

*By an Impartial Hand, who was an Eye-
witnes to most of the Facts.*

Printed at EDINBURGH.

And sold by the Booksellers there, and by R. GRIESEYER,
Bookseller and Publisher, at the *Diamond* in *Judge Street*.



To their Royal Highnesses

The Prince and Princess of
W A L E S.

This HISTORY of the REBELLION
1745 and 1746.

Is Dedicated, with the profoundest
Respect and Submission, by

Their Royal Highnesses

Most Obedient, most Humble,

And most Devoted Servants,

The AUTHOR.

и съмъ възлюбленъ твой

до земниятъ светъ и Г
радъ Исаия

и отъ земли до небесъ и Г
радъ Господъ

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OUR present Sovereign *George II.* acceded to his Father's Throne upon the 11th of June 1727, with his Royal Consort *Caroline*, Daughter of the Margrave of *Anspach*: A Lady of admirable Virtue, born to govern. She was four times Regent in the Absence of her Royal Husband. Being skilled in every Art of Government, she discharged the important Trust to her own immortal Honour, the Advantage of *Britain*, and Satisfaction of the King. But the supreme Being to punish us for our Crimes, took from us this Pattern of Goodness, and Mother of her People, on the 20th November 1737. She left seven Children, viz. *Frederick Prince of Wales*, an amiable and worthy Prince born 29th January 1706: and *William Duke*

Duke of *Cumberland*, born 15th April 1721. Also five Princesses, *Anne* Princess of *Orange*, *Mary*, Princess of *Hesse-Cassel*, *Louisa*, Princess Royal of *Denmark**², *Ame-*
lia and *Caroline* not married. These all, like their Royal Mother, are Ornaments to their Sex. Great indeed is our King; a Hero himself, descended from Princes and Heroes! Every Thing flourished in his Reign, till *Spain*, influenced by *France*, issued out from her Admiralty, Letters of Marque against the *British* Ships, under Pretence of searching for Passports and contraband Goods. Numerous Complaints were made upon this at *Madrid*; several Conferences were held upon the Subject, which ended in a Convention Anno 1739, wherein, after many Concessions, and vast Abatement by the *English* Merchants, after ballancing their Accompts, *Spain* agreed to pay 95,000 £. to compensate their Losses; but, upon the Court of *Madrid's* Non-payment, Letters of Marque were set out by *Britain*, in her Turn. The *Spanish* Plea was, That the *African* Company was indebted to them 68,000 £. on account of the Negroe Trade.

The Patience of the *British* Merchants being at an End, the King found it necessary to declare War, which was done on the 23d October 1739. against *Spain*, who answered his Manifesto by another of the 28th November that Year. Several *British* Ships, before this, were seized upon the slightest Grounds; the Seas swarmed with Privateers; *Ferrol* and *St. Sebastians* were the Sepulchres of our Trade. About 300 Vessels were taken, and their Crews thrown into Dungeons before War was proclaimed. Admiral *Vernon* had been sent to the *West-Indies* to annoy the Enemy in the most sensible Part. *Porto Bello*, where the *Spanish* Treasure that comes from *Panama* is shipped, was taken the 22d November, by six Ships only; the Outworks were destroyed, some few Vessels in the Harbour were seized, but the Town was ransomed from Plunder for 30,000 Piasters. April 1, 1741, he sailed for *Cartagena*, the finest Port in *America*; the Forts defending the Entrance of the Harbour were forced; the Men of War sunk in the Mouth of it, and a Boom laid a-cross it, could not stop the victorious Fleet;

* Now Queen of Denmark.

Fleet ; the Troops were debarked, under Cover of the Cannon, from our Ships, but as a violent Rain fell, which is mortal to Strangers, it weakned the Soldiers, who, not having Carriages for erecting Batteries against Fort St. Lazara, retired, after trying what Bravery itself could do. That Expedition cost *Britain* about 7000 Men, who died more by the Severity of the Weather, and Unwholesomeness of the Air, than by the Efforts of the Enemy. The Admirals *Matthews* and *Lefstock* were sent with a strong Fleet to the *Mediterranean*, where, after waiting a considerable Time, they came to an Engagement with the united Fleets of *France* and *Spain*, February 11, 1744.

The *British* Fleet, consisting of thirty-three Ships of the Line, *viz.* four of Ninety Guns, eight of Eighty, eight of Seventy, five of Sixty, five of Fifty, three from Forty-four to Eighteen, with some Victuallers, Fireships and Tenders, was drawn up to the South of the Enemy. Admiral *Matthews* formed the Centre with his Division, while Admiral *Lefstock* drew up to the East, and *Rowley* to the South-West of him. Though the Action was very bloody, neither Side lost one Ship. The combined Fleets were however put to Flight, and left the *English* the Honour of the Victory. It is universally agreed, that the former might have been entirely ruined, had it not been for the Misconduct of the *English* Admirals. There were loud Complaints made of *Lefstock's* Conduct, which were carried the Length of a regular Trial, in which several Witnesses were examined for and against him ; but, after a tedious Process, he was honourably acquitted, and advanced from a Rear to a Vice-Admiral. After his Acquittal a Process against *Matthews* was commenced ; but upon his putting some Questions, and offering Lists of exculpatory Witnesses, the Court-Martial adjourned *sine die*.

As this Sea-Fight happened very near *Toulon*, the *French* declared War against *Britain*, and made this one of the Reasons of it ; as also against the Electorate of *Hanover*, which was followed by a Second against the Queen of *Hungary*, the better to execute the Schemes they had formed, upon the Death of *Charles VI.* Emperor of

Germany, which happened 9th October 1740. which Day his eldest Daughter *Maria Theresa*, now Empress, was proclaimed Queen of *Hungary* and *Bohemia*, Archduchesses of *Austria*, &c. The same was notified publickly by her Ministers at the several Courts of *Europe*, and the Legality of the Step was supported from her Claim in consequence of the Will of *Ferdinand I.* and of the Deed of *Charles VI.* himself, 20th June 1722, wherein, with the unanimous Voice of a general Diet of the States of the Kingdom of *Hungary*, then met at *Presburgh*, an Act was past for settling the Succession of that Crown on the female Line of the House of *Austria*, acknowledging for Successors to it the Archduchesses, his imperial Majesty's Daughters, and all the Females of the House of *Austria*, with their Descendants, in Failure of male Issue, according to the Right of Primogeniture, in the Manner established in all other Kingdoms and Territories belonging to that House. The Queen's Title was acknowledged by several of the Princes, but the Elector of *Bavaria* refused, and put in for himself, founding his Pretensions to the *Austrian* Succession upon the same Will of *Ferdinand I.* and Descent from *Charles V.* as also that he was married to the Emperor *Joseph*'s Daughter. The Troops of his Electorate were set in Motion in Support of his Claim, and actually did march September 1741, and were followed by 30,000 French Forces, under Pretence that their King, as Guarantee of the Treaty of *Westphalia*, was to secure the Repose of *Germany*, and provide for the Freedom of the Election of an Emperor: But the most Christian King, by constituting the Elector of *Bavaria* Generalissimo of these Forces, plainly spoke out his ambitious Designs. All this Time his *Britannick* Majesty endeavoured the Preservation of the Tranquility and Freedom of the Empire, in Opposition to those who were secretly undermining both. He caused his *British* and *Hanoverian* Troops to march to protect the *Pragmatic Sanction*. As the fixing an Emperor by *French* Influence, would be a large Step towards universal Monarchy, no Stone was left unturned by the Court of *Versailles* to facilitate the darling Project. *Europe* must be set on Flame. The King of *Prussia* marched to protect *Silesia* from Insults,

ults, December 14th, and by means of French Gold, attacked the Queen of Hungary. Sweden and Russia were set by the Ears upon the slightest Pretences, in order, for that Time, to keep the latter from assisting the Queen, and to set the Holstein Family on the two most powerful Northern Thrones, which was at last effected. The Ambassadors of France at the Hague were employed to bring the Dutch to a Neutrality, while the joint Forces of the House of Bourbon were to distress the Austrian Territories in Italy; but their Projects proved unsuccessful, by the Vigilance of the British Fleet, and the Magnanimity of the King of Sardinia, who had joined in Alliance with King George and the Queen of Hungary. The Armies of France were in Motion all over Germany, even from the Mayne to Prague, which Marshal Belisle kept out for near Half a Year, but retreated at last. The Prussian Monarch had two Battles with the Queen's Troops; the first upon the 10th April 1741, at Niss; the 2d upon the 25th May 1742, at Czastaw, which was followed by a Peace between the two Powers, the 1st of June thereafter, under the Mediation of Great-Britain. By this Silesia, and the City and Castle of Glatz, were ceded by the Queen; so he continued peaceable till the Passage of the Rhine by Prince Charles of Lorrain, June 1744, when France, in the utmost Consternation, applied to him to make a Diversion in Bohemia; which he did, and so recalled the victorious Hero. But as nothing material happened till the 16th of June 1743, that the Marshal Duke De Noailles attacked the Confederates at Dettingen, under the Command of our King in Person, the Earl of Stair, the Duke D'Areberg and Marshal Nieperg, I shall give a Description of that bloody Battle.

The Marshal Noailles (descended of one of the most ancient and noble Families in France) had an Army of 50,000 Men encamped on the South of the Mayne; the Allies, on the North, at Aschaffenberg, whence they moved towards Hanau, as well to secure Provisions, as to join the Hessians and Lunenberghers in British Pay. The French General, getting Intelligence of their Motion, lined the opposite Banks of the River with Cannon, pointed

pointed at the Place where they were to pass ; and about One o'Clock in the Morning ordered several Regiments, particularly the Household-Troops, to march ; the Foot crossed over Bridges at *Seligenstadt*, the Cavalry by Fords, drew up in Order of Battle, and advanced to attack the Allies in their March, or at least to cut off their Baggage. The vigilant King of *Britain*, having Notice of their Progress, formed his Troops at a Village called *Dettingen*. During the Disposition of the two Armies, which lasted from eight to twelve, the French Batteries, posted on the rising Grounds on the other Side of the *Maine*, did great Execution upon the Allies, flanking them from Right to Left, within two hundred Paces. About twelve the *Gens d'Armes*, under the Duke *De Grammont*, advanced to the Charge, without Beat of Drum, for Secrecy, the Sign being agreed on, viz. Tossing of a Lash in the General's Hand. As they came up to the allied Army, which was now, by the King's Orders, in March to meet them, they paused a little ; but, at the Signal given, furiously attacked the British first Line of Foot, which opened to receive them ; and though some of that Rank were cut down, yet the Remainder closing upon them, made so brisk and terrible a Fire, that few of these escaped the Sword or Captivity. While this was passing, the Infantry came up, but were so roughly handled by the Hanoverian Artillery, which played from a Wood, that, being put into Confusion, they were obliged to retreat ; yet fresh Troops advancing, they were enabled to form into a Hollow-Square, and continued till three o'Clock in the Afternoon, when *Noailles* observing the Flower of his Troops cut off, viz. the *Gens d'Armes* and *Black Musqueteers*, (who had detached themselves from their Line, passed between the two Fires of the Foot, and came full Gallop to attack the first Squadron on the Right of the Allies) and his Son wounded, sounded a Retreat. The Conquerors pursued, but a Wood and Marsh being in the Way, gave Time to the French to retire over the River, in which several were drowned. The Allies remained Masters of the Field ; but a heavy Rain coming on obliged them to leave it, and march forward to *Hanau*. The Enemy
came

came over the next Day, buried the Dead, seized upon some Baggage and four Pieces of Cannon, which could not be carried off. In this Battle were slain, on the Side of the French, three thousand Men, one Major-General, eight Brigadiers, and three Colonels, and wounded five Lieutenant-Generals, five Major-Generals, five Brigadiers, three Colonels, and the Duke *D'Ayen*, the Marshal's own Son, besides several others. The Prisoners were next Day dismissed. The Allies lost two thousand five hundred Men, among whom the brave Lieutenant-General *Clayton*. It was here the British Hero, the Duke of *Cumberland*, had his first Rudiments in the Art of actual War ; he, as Major-General, in Imitation of his Royal Father, who continued the whole Day at the Head of the Foot, exposed himself in the Heat of the Action, was shot in the Leg, but his Ardour for the Glory of *Britain* hindred his being sensible of it till after the Battle. Marshal *Noailles* seeing the Execution of his Plan did not answer the Contrivance of it, withdrew behind the *Queich*, sheltering his Troops in the strong Lines, called the *Ne plus ultra* of the famous *Turéenne*.

France seeing herself baffled by the Power and Influence of *Britain*, her Forces driven into Trenches, and confined to their native Bounds, applied to the *Pretender* to make another Trial for the British Throne, promising to support his Pretensions. The Proposal was accepted, but the Scheme was soon divulged, and so laid aside at that Time. However, in the Spring the contending Parties took the Field ; those of *France* under that accomplished General Marshal *Saxe* in *Flanders*, and the prudent Count *Coigny* on the *Rhine*. The British Forces were commanded by General *Wade*, but nothing past betwixt them that Summer 1744. other than the French taking *Menin*, *Ypres*, *Fort-Knock*, and *Furnes*, each in three Days ; and Prince *Charles of Lorrain*, upon passing the *Rhine* by a Stratagem, penetrated into *Alsace*, with little or no Loss, and would have in all Probability, made a farther Progress, notwithstanding the Army under Count *Coigny*, or the Reinforcements pouring in from all Quarters, had not the Irruption of the King of *Prussia* into *Bohemia* recalled him : But this Diversion in Favour of *France*, the taking of *Prague* by

the

the *Prussian Monarch*, the Marches and Counter-marches of the two Armies, were at too great a Distance to have a Place in this History. I am not to dwell upon the Misery of the beautiful Country of *Bavaria*, which was almost become desolate, by the Irruption of the *Hungarian Forces*. The Elector was obliged to leave his Capital, the finest in that Part of the World, and retire to *Frankfort* upon the *Oder*, and so exchange the substantial Riches of his hereditary Dominions, for the empty Name of Emperor, which he had procured the 13th *January* 1742. But whether the Inactivity in *Flanders* proceeded from the Slowness of Marshal *Wade's* Motions, or *Saxe's* surprising Skill, or from both, I leave to others to determine. Winter being come, the Parliament of *Great-Britain* met, *November* 1744, wherein the Continuation of the War was resolved on, in support of the House of *Austria*. Early in the Spring some Troops were sent over. The Duke himself being made Captain-General of the Army, embarked at *Gravesend*, April 4, 1745, and joined Marshal *Contigegg* the *Austrian General*, with the *Hanoverians*, and Dutch Auxiliaries under Prince *Waldegrave*, in all making an Army of Seventy Thousand Men. The *French*, being sooner in the Field, had, with an Army of Eighty Thousand Men, sat down before *Tournay*, a very strong and beautiful City in the Low-Countries. Scarce had the Hero heard of its Distress, but he repaired to its Relief. The Allies marched with the utmost Alacrity: making the Hills and Valleys resound with their Huzzas, so eager were they to come to Blows with the the Enemy. On the 30th of April they came within Cannon-Shot of the *French*, who made a Feint of retreating to gain Time for fortifying the Heights with Cannon, and running Trenches a-cross the Plains that lay betwixt them. Next Morning, at the Sun-rising, the Allies marched to attack the, *French* in their Entrenchments; and though a furious Cannonade had galled the Foot, who were obliged to wait for the Horse, who had several Defiles to pass through, yet nothing could damp their Bravery. At five o'Clock the Battle began; the *British* on the Right, commanded by the Duke, drove the enemy from two Entrench-

Entrenchments ; the Foot-Guards and Highlanders, advancing Sword in Hand, made a prodigious Slaughter, and in all Probability had driven the Enemy off the Field, had not the *Dutch* withdrawn, and a masqued Battery from the Village of *Antoine* flanked the Right-Wing. At this very Time the *French* brought up their heavy Cannon, supported by the *Gens d'Armes* and *French King* in Person, together with the *Irish* Brigades, which made it proper to sound a Retreat. This was done in the most excellent Order ; some few of the Enemy's Horse pursued, but some *Hanoverian* Field-pieces put them to Flight. On the Side of the Allies were slain Lieutenant-General Sir *James Campbell*, Major-General *Ponsonby*, with several Subaltern Officers, and 12000 Men. The Duke had a Horse shot under him, and shewed all the Conduit and Courage that could be expected from the most experienced General, rallying the broken Troops, and embracing every Opportunity for the Advantage of his Cause. He continued with the Army till 3 next Morning, when they came to *Alost*, 15 Miles from *Tournay*. Few were taken Prisoners except such as were wounded and could not march.

On the *French* Side were killed the brave Duke *De Gramont*, who was made a Marshal that Morning, and about 15000 Men. The Siege was now pursued with the utmost Vigour ; and Provisions failing, a Capitulation was proposed. The Citadel surrendered upon the 20th of June, on Condition the Garrison should not serve for 18 Months against *France*. After this the *French* surprised *Dendermonde* and *Ghent*, took *Ostend* by a regular Siege ; and, as the Allies did not again adventure upon their Entrenchments, when besieging Towns, so the *French* shunned attacking them in the open Fields. Thus our Army had little farther Trouble, till *October* that they were called over to suppress the Rebellion I am now to relate.

Charles the eldest Son of the Pretender, by Princess *Clementina* a Daughter of Prince *James* Son of *John Sobieski King of Poland*, was brought up in the Notions of Royalty, and taught to look on himself as Prince of *Wales* from his Birth. The disaffected in *Britain* and *Ireland*,

who resorted to *Rome*, honoured him as such. The Night in which he was born, 20th *December* 1720. the Midwife held him up in her Arms, before the Company, and said, with great Warmth, “ There is no Imposture here ; lo a real Prince is born ! ” He was put under the Care of an *Irishman* for his Education, and, while a Boy, gave early Symptoms of a high Spirit. One Day the *Pope* was riding in his Chariot through *Rome* ; *Charles*, in another, came up with him, and fearing the *Holy Father* should turn down a Street before him, he commanded his Coachman to drive before his *Holiness* : There being a Struggle between the Postillions, the *Old Man* asked the Matter, and being told, he answered, “ Stop, and let the Prince of *Wales* go by.” He was after this bred up with the Duke of *Berwick*, King *James* II’s natural Son by Miss *Annabella Churchill*, Sister to the Duke of *Marlborough*. From him he learned the Art of War, which he had almost reduced to a Science. Being spoken well of by that Mareschal, his enterprising Genius was taken Notice of by the Courts of *Versailles* and *Madrid*, who judged that one Day he might serve their Interest. He was advanced to considerable Places of Trust under those Powers, was at the Battle of *Dettingen*, and commanded those Troops at *Tournay*, which supported the Battery from the Village *Antoine*, that played so furiously upon the *British* Infantry, as they were driving all before them. This young Man, being appointed Regent of *Scotland* upon the 23d *December* 1743, immediately after the Battle of *Fontenoy*, set about executing the Project he had formed, for accomplishing which he had left *Rome* the 4th of *January* 1744, in a secret Manner, and taking the Tour of such *Popish* Courts in his Way, as he thought would espouse his Interest, he settled at last in *France*. The King of *Great Britain* had got Intelligence of the intended Scheme ; and, upon the 15th of *February*, imparted the Design to both Houses of Parliament, who addressed him in the most loyal Manner, promising to stand by him with their Lives and Fortunes, and passed an Act making it High Treason for the *Pretender*, or any of his Sons, to land in *Britain*, or any of the Dominions thereto belonging. Every Thing was put in the best Posture for defeating any Attempt,

Attempt, whether secret or open. Addresses were presented to the King from the several Parts of *Britain* and *Ireland*. Then the Enterprize was delayed ; but now the *Youth* resolves to try his Fortune ; he repairs to *Paris*, thence to *Port-Lazare* in *Britany*, where on the 3d *July*, he went on board a small Vessel of 16 Guns, and was joined off *Belleisle* by the *Elizabeth* of 64, who were both attacked in 47 Degrees, 57 Minutes North Latitude, 39 Leagues West from the Meridian of the *Lizard*, by the *Lion* Man of War 58 Guns. The Engagement continued from Five till Ten at Night, within Pistol Shot of each other, when the *Lion's* Rigging being cut to Pieces, her Mizen-Mast, Mizen Top-Mast, Main-Yard, Foretop-Sail Yard, and Main Top-Sail Yard shot away, all her Masts sore wounded, so that she lay muzzled in the Sea, sheered off, and in an Hour's Time was out of Sight. The small Ship attempted twice to rake the *Lion*, but, being beat off by her Stern-Chace, she bore away, and continued her Voyage. The *Lion* had 45 Men killed, 107 wounded, among who the brave Capt. *Brett*, and the Lieutenants, 7 of whom died of their Wounds ; the Chapplain, who acted the Soldier, fell upon the Deck. The French Ship had her Captain and 64 Men killed, 146 wounded. It is very probable the *Chevalier* was on Board the Frigate, and every one would have believed it, had not himself declared that he arrived in *Scotland* in a small Vessel, with seven Persons, whom I take to be the Marquis of *Tullibardin*, eldest Brother to the Duke of *Athole*, who was attainted for Rebellion 1715. The Family of *Athole* have been long Lairds of *Tullibardin*, and, by marrying the Heires, were first Earls, then Marquisses, and now Dukes of *Athole* ; the *Murrays* were as frequent perhaps as any Surname in *Scotland*, were possest of very large Territories in the North, such as *Sutherland*, *Murray*, &c. but were rooted out of these by the *Catti* ; however, many great standing Families are now of them. Old *Lochziel*, who was in the Rebellion 1715. General *Mac Donald*, who was Lieutenant-Colonel in the *Irish* Brigades. Sir *Thomas Sheridan*, an *Irish* Gentleman, of middle Age, and great Capacity. Colonel *O Sullivan* an *Irishman*, bred in a *Romish* College abroad, where he entred into Priest's Orders ; (as several *Irish* and *Scots* *Highlanders* do) after

which he was recommended to Mareschal *Maillebois*, by whom he was retained as domestick Tutor to his Son. The Mareschal, perceiving in him a military Genius, encouraged his applying that Way, which he did with such Success, that having attended his Master in his Expedition against *Corsica*, he acted as Secretary. This he did to the great Honour both of himself and Patron ; his Reputation grew ; he serverd two Campaigns, one in *Italy*, the other on the *Rhine*, and attained the Reputation from the Generals of being the best irregular Warrior in *Europe* ; nor was his Knowledge in the regular much inferior to that of the wisest Commander ; he was Director of the *Pretender's* Artillery, and Aid-de-Camp. Mr. *Kelly*, who was a long Time in the Tower, upon the Cause of the Bishop of *Rochester*. Mr. *Mitchel*, his Valet-de-Chambre, a Man who was long about the *Old Pretender*, and carried on the Courtship betwixt him and Princess *Sobieski*, who was far from being a great Match, her Father, since his Imprisonment 1704, by *Augustus I.* King of *Poland*, having decayed both in Power and Riches, and consequently his Children ; she was really an excellent Lady, but much abused by her Husband. A *Blackamore* closed his Retinue !

However, it may be true that he landed from *Uist*, where he was about a Week, in *Ardnamurchan*, in the Manner he describes ; yet certain it is, that a Frigate of 16 or 18 Guns was seen off some of these Western Islands about that Time ; he brought 700 Stand of Arms, besides Ammunition, and 25,000 £. his Father pledged his very Jewels for as much to defray the Charges of the Young Adventurer. Upon the 24th *July* he sailed to the Entrance of *Loch-Soinard*, went to the House of *Donald Mac-Donald* of *Kinnloeb-Moidart*, whence he intimated his Arrival to his best Friends. *Cameron* of *Lochziel* repaired to him, but refused at that Time to join, till the *Chevalier* produced the *French* King's Obligation to favour his Expedition with all his Force. The *Camerons* met, and the Question being propesed, Whether or not join the *Pretender*? the Majority were of Opinion, it was risking too much, and therefore declined, offering to confine their Chief, lest he should engage in so desperate an Attempt ; but he told them that it was impossible

impossible he could dip deeper than already he had ; for, says he, “ I have corresponded with him.” Then was the Scheme agreed to. The Camerons set up his Standard, with this Motto in Latin, *The good Cause at last triumping,* at *Glenphillin*. Numbers of those, who had been in the Plot with him, repair thereto from the Isles, such as *Clanronald*, &c. Several *Papists*, who lived in Argyle’s Lands, hasten to the mad *Eday*. From this he marched to within a Mile of *Fort-William*, where he encamped ; here he was joined by the *Stuarts* of *Appin* under *Ardshiel*, the *Mac-Donalds* of *Glengary*, *Keppoch*, *Glenco* ; for the *Mac-Gregors* and *Athole* Men had not come in yet. He made them the largest Promises, was very popular among them, gave the private Men no less than eight Pence per Day at first ; nothing was wanting to their Encouragement ; for, when some *Mac-Donalds* belonging to *Keppoch* attacked about 70 new-raised Men of *St. Clair’s* Regiment, whom they took Prisoners, he gave them the Booty, viz. 50 £. The Chiefs were made Cols. such as *Keppoch*, *Lochziel*, *Clanronald*, &c. and his Forces were regimented in the Manner of regular Troops. But, before I proceed, it will be proper to give the particular Character of those principally concerned in this unprovokd Rebellion. And, first,

James Drummond, commonly called Duke of *Perth*, (as Honour conferred on his Grandfather, the Chancellor, by King *James VII.* a little before the Revolution, tho’ the Patent did not pass the Seals) was a young Man, a Bachelor, Chief of a noble Family, who first came from *Hungary* in the Days of *Malcon Canmore*, and matched with the Royal Offspring, (*Annadella Drummond*, the Daughter of *Drummond of Stobhall*, being married to K. *Robert III.* bore him K. *James I.* and 6 Daughters) if left to himself, was far from being ill-natured, but rather mild and affable ; given to a Country Life, except when he attended the Horse-Races, at which he affected to be popular, and sometimes won the Prize. He lay under great Obligations to the Government ; for tho’ the Chancellor went to *France* with K. *James*, and his Father was in the Rebellion 1715, yet he peaceably possest his Estate. But, noways sensible of those great Favours, or at least very ingrateful, by the Instigation of his Mother, a Daughter

ter of the Duke of *Gordon's*, generally look'd on as a *Roman Catholic*, shook off his Allegiance to the best of Kings, and rose in Arms to overturn a Government who had done him such Good. But what can a Man of the best natural Disposition do, when educated in wrong Principles, both with respect to civil and ecclesiastical Affairs ?

John Murray of Broughton, a Gentleman of no extraordinary Merit and grossly ignorant of the Interest of his Country, was frequently abroad in the last 3 Years before the Pretender's landing, and on his Arrival in *Ardnamurchan* he was the first that came to him from the Low-Countries ; on which he was made his Secretary, but knew very little of his Intrigues, being only a Subscriber of his Declarations for Form's Sake.

Donald Cameron of Lochziel, Cheif of an ancient Family, was a very discreet and humane Gentleman ; had given great Proofs of his Inclination to civilize those of his Name, who had been odious some time past for a thievish Disposition, which frequently shewed itself in open Robberies. His Country is fit for Grain and Pasture ; but his lazy Clan, averse to Improvement, were ready to embrace every Occasion of Spoil. Tryals have been made by Merchants, who understood Trade, of settling among them, and setting up a Fishery ; but such of them, and their Neighbours, as got Credit were sure to break their Trust ; at which *Lochziel* was truly sorry ; yet for this Reproach, and their Rebellions since the Revolution, they were never employed in the Army, Church or State. However, as he was allowed the Possession of his Lands, it is hard to screen him from the Imputation of Ingratitude towards his Benefactors.

Donald Mac Donald junior of Clanronald, an avowed Papist, has in *South-Uist*, an Island of 24 Miles long, an Estate of about 700 £. per annum, is reckoned a very civil Gentleman ; but the Misfortune is, that his Clan, who live with himself, and are *Roman Catholicks*, have little or no Communication with the Continent, (except once a Year, that some Drovers transport their black Cattle) which makes them utter Strangers to the civil Policy. Their Religion recommends an Abhorrence of the ecclesiastical Constitution ; no Arts or Sciences prevailing among them, their Exercise is the Sword, and Education

cation the Accounts of their Sea-Fights with the *Mac Leans* and their Rebellions since the Revolution. These Men are generally of a very low Stature, and, as in *Lochabar*, speak the *Irish Tongue*, and despise our Laws; just as their Progenitor *John of the Isles*, who usurped the Name of King, and his Father *Alexander*, whose Estate was forfeited for Rebellion anno 1476.

Alexander Mac Donald of Keppoch is a well-bred Gentleman; has nothing of a Fortune, and, was it not for the violent Possession, and frequent Robberies of his Vassals, his Name would never have been known. This Man's father being in *Mac Intosh's* Lands, which are perhaps as good as any in the *Highlands*, refused to pay the Rent to the lawfull Proprietor; on which *Mac Intosh* raised some of his Clan, and got a Company of Soldiers, commanded by Captain *Mac Kenzie of Suddy*; these set out to bring *Keppoch* to Justice; but, upon hearing of their Approach he mustered his Vassals, and fought them at *Mulroy*, where *Mac Kenzie* was killed, and 200 more, the rest being put to Flight, 1689.

The *Stuarts of Appin*, who have been zealous for the *Pretender*, and live but poorly, joined the *Chevalier* under *Stuart of Ardshiel*, a Gentleman of good Parts, but misapplied.

The *Mac Donalds of Glengary*, who united under their Chieftian's second Son, are much like those of *Keppoch*, of a good Size, but very poor, and addicted to Theft and Robbery. If any Religion be among them, it is of the Popish Kind.

The few *Mac-Donalds of Glencoe* have a small Income, live in a Glen about 4 Miles long and half a Mile broad, at a Distance from Politeness, and, like the other Rebels, drowned in Ignorance, were ready to engage in the most desperate Cause, when a Prospect of Plunder was before them.

Lauchlan Mac-Lauchlan of Castle-Lauchlan had a small Estate in *Argyleshire*, was a very genteel Man; but, as his Forefathers had lost their Possessions for Rebellion, and by their Feuds with the Family of *Argyle*, he was easily brought into the Scheme. I knew some of his Officers, Men of *O Sullivan's* Education, who attended their Chief in the Expedition. This Clan is far from being numerous, but their Men are strong.

I need not speak of the *Mac-Gregors*, who were obliged to change their Names into *Drummond*, *Graham*, *Gordon*, *Murray*, &c. an Act being past against them, long before the Revolution, for Seditions and Murders. They were dispossessed of *Broadalbine*, took up Arms in this and other Rebellions, judging that in the Midst of Commotions they might be advanced.

Such were the Abettors of this Insurrection! These were the Men the young *Pretender* brought with him for reinstating the *British Isle* in their Religion, Laws and Liberties, to remove the Incroachments made upon a free People, and secure them in the Enjoyment of their valuable Rights!

The Regency at *London*, (for the King had been abroad since *May 3d*) did all they could to suppress this Rebellion, as will afterwards appear. Sir *Hector Mac-Lean*, and *Blaue of Castlehill*, who had been taken up on Suspicion of Treason, *June 5.* were sent up to *London*, where they underwent a long Examination, and such Grounds of Treason were found from some decyphered Letters about them, as plainly discovered a Design of an Invasion. A Proclamation was published over *Britain* and *Ireland*. setting 30,000 £. Sterl. on the Head of the young *Pretender*, *August 6. 1745.* which when he saw, he issued out another setting the like Sum on the Head of his present Majesty. Some who were suspected were ordered to be seized. Captain *Campbel of Invera* went with a Party to take the Duke of *Perth*, in consequence of a Warrant from the Lord Justice-Clerk for that Purpose. *Invera* went to him, took him aside, and after telling him his Business, *Perth* said *Defire Patie Murry* (a Gentleman in the Company) to speak with me. This the Captain did, but, in the mean Time, *Perth* went out by a secret Passage which leads to the Kitchin, made the best of his Way through his Park, at the very Time that the Party of the *Highland Watch* were entring the Avenue from the other Side to seize him. From this he crossed over to *Angus*, and rode through the North Country *incognito*, with only one Servant, and so arrived at the Camp of the young *Chevalier*. On the 28th *July*, *John Graham*, alias *Mac-Gregor*, the younger of *Glen-gyle*, was committed to the Castle, by virtue of a Warrant from the Lord Advocate, on Suspicion of Treason. His Father

Father had been early in the Rebellion ; for at *Daalspider*, a Place 5 Miles from any House, he seized upon 40 Soldiers in the Night-Time. *August 13th*, *John Mac-Leod* from *Holland* and on the 23d *James Rollo* of *Powhouse*, were confined to the Castle. Any Person may figure to himself the Case of People at that Time. Such as knew the *Highlanders* were justly afraid ; others, who did not, laughed at the Matter. An original Letter from the *Pretender*, to one of the Chieftains was intercepted, and a Copy of one to another, but, when read, some looked upon it as a Chimera, to suppose a young Man, with 7 Persons could overturn a State ; while others answered, " That for that Reason the more was to be feared." Who were the *Pretender's* Correspondents, Time will declare. That *Perth*, *Lochziel*, *Clanronald*, *Keppoch*, &c. were, is Thing past Dispute ; yet, it is more than probable he had his Friends in the several Parts of *Britain*, as appears from his Manifesto. I shall inform the Reader of what I was told by a Ship-master of great Veracity. That about 8 Years ago, being at *Rome*, and having a Desire to see the Rarities he went with some others to satisfy his Curiosity, and from thence to the *Pretender's* Palace at *St. Albano* ; that, having got ready Acces, they were desired to stay some Time ; that, after a considerable Space, a tall slender young Man came to them, with a Servant carrying some Folio Books that the Gentleman desired to know every One's particula Residence, and to whom they belonged. The Books were opened, and Questions put to each concerning every Person of the least Account in that Shire where he lived.

Upon the 20th *July* came the agreeable News of the taking, upon the 16th *June*, that *Gibraltar* of *North-America*, an Centre of the Fisheries in these Parts, *Cape Breton*, after Siege of 49 Days. As *France* had lost this Nursery of her Seamen, and Promoter of her Wealth, (for it yielded a Revenue of 24,000,000 Livres) she thought seriously of diverting *Britain* from preserving it, by sending some Ships to *Scotland* in Support of the Rebels there. In the mean Time the *Pretender* is going on ; and, while every Person is in Consternation what to think of the Reports about him, a Express, of Date *August 5th*, from the honourable Sir *Duncan Campbell* of *Lochnel*, put the Matter of the *Chevalier* landing beyond all Doubt. That Gentleman's Letter was transmitted to the Regency, who had ordered Lieutenant General *Cope*, Commander in Chief of the King's Forces

Scotland, to go and disperse them : But whether an Unwillingness in that Officer, or his Apprehensions of the Disaffected, hindred his acting forthwith conformable to his Instructions, I shall not determine, Never was more Industry used to magnify the Numbers of the Enemy than now. To give one Instance. A Chairman called *Mac-Lean* came to *Edinburgh*, and, being brought before the Magistrates, declared that he saw an Army of Men lying. in *Ardnamurchan*, who occupied in their Encampment as much Ground as lies betwixt the *Caltoun* and *Leith*, which is about a *Scots Mile*) that he saw four or five Ships hovering upon the Coast, and several Men, whose Dress he particularly described, land from them. A special Size was assigned their Cannon ; the *Chevalier* was magnified as one of the strongest Men upon the Earth ; and nothing was omitted which might conduce to help their Cause.

Scotland before this was in perfect Peace ; few Forces were in it, and these but new-levied Men ; for, as the Generality of the People were well-affected, except in those Parts where the Rebellion broke out, it was judged necessary only to keep a few for preventing the pernicious Practice of Smuggling, and garrisoning the Forts ; so that these Insurgents laid hold of the properest Season, after the Repulse of our Forces at *Tournay*, to invade a Country almost naked and unprepared.

General *Cope*, in Obedience to his Instructions, at last issued out his Orders, of Date the 13th *August*, to the several Parties of the Troops to repair to their respective Posts. Arms and Ammunition were sent to the Camp at *Stirling*, and to the Garrisons from the Castle of *Edinburgh*. That Fortress was ordered to be stored with Provisions, and reinforced with two Companies of *Lasselle's* Foot ; the Out-Pensioners of *Chelsea-Hospital* were required to present themselves at *Edinburgh* before Lieutenant-General *Guest*, who, as they appeared, were ordered for *Stirling*, or joined to the Garrison of the Castle there. On the 19th *Cope*, accompanied by the Earl of *Lowdon*, and several Officers, set out from *Edinburgh* for *Stirling*, to put himself at the Head of the Army, which consisted of about 2191 Men in all, viz. *Murray's* Regiment of Foot, 580 Men ; 8 Companies of *Lasselle's* ; 2 of *Guise's* ; 5 of *Lee's* ; 183 of the *Highland-Regiment* ; *Gardener's* and *Hamilton's* Dragoon's, in all 564, exclusive of Officers, Sergeants and Drums. With the Infantry, 6 Field-Pieces, two Coehorns, and several covered Waggons, the General marched

marched from *Stirling* the 21st, leaving the Horse behind, as they could not get Forage in the Country through which they were to pass : So, crossing the *Forth* by *Stirling-Bridge*, he proceeded by the Way of *Taybridge* to *Inverness*, where he arrived on the 29th. In his Journey he was visited by several, such as the Duke of *Athole*, *Glengary*, &c. The *Chevalier* who had advanced to *Coreyerriog*, a Hill about 6 Miles from *Fort-Augustus*, finding he had nothing to oppose him, marched forward with the few (about 1900) which he had, and these very ill armed, many of them wanting Firelocks, reached the Braes of *Athole* on the 30th, and came next Day to *Blair*. On this the Duke of *Athole* and several *Fyfe* Gentlemen removed to *Edinburgh*. Had *Cope* attacked them, he, in all Probability, would either have then dispersed them, or made such a Diversion with his Forces, as would have obliged them soon to disband ; but this Gentleman's Misfortune was to be unacquainted with the Country, against which he was prejudiced, and to trust the Reports which so much swelled the Numbers of his Enemies.

The *Pretender* continued at *Blair*, the Residence of the Family of *Athole*, till the 3d of September, that he mov'd toward *Dunkeld*. That Day a Detachment of his entered *Perth*, and next Day proclaimed his Father King, and him Regent, over the Cross. In the Afternoon he entered the Town on Horseback, amidst the Acclamations of his own Party. There his Standard was set up. The Person called Duke of *Perth*, the *Robertsons* and *Mac Gregors*, Lord *Nairn*, *Mercer of Aldie*, *Opphant of Gask*, and all who had little to lose, and all Bankrupts, Papists, and such as were outlawed by Church and State, resorted hither, as to an Asylum. These *Robertsons* are *Donalds*, being come from one called *Robert*, as Numbers other Names, such as *Mac Nauchtan*, *Mac Arthur*, &c. w^t spring from one Man, who has done something remarkable for which they adopt his Name ; they were forfeited for Rebellion to *James IV*. Lord *Nairn* is a Son of a second Brother of the Duke of *Athole*'s who married the Heiress of *Nairn*. He was in the Rebellion 1715. and was sentenced to death but was pardoned. His Estate is almost gone, as indeed is *Aldie*'s, &c. Lord *George Murray*, Brother to *Tullibardin*, a few more increased his Number. While the 2 Armies, the Distance of 83 Miles from each other, were preparing the one to penetrate forward, the other to get up to a proper Station to prevent their Progress, the Country in general

was in an Amaze. On the 7th a Detachment of the Rebels entered *Dundee*, and proclaimed the *Pretender*, searched the Town for Horses, Arms and Ammunition, and levied the Publick Money. Next Day, however, the Ministers of the Town preached as usual, and prayed for King *George*, warmly recommending Loyalty to their Hearers, all without Molestation, tho' some *Highlanders* were present. A Ship with Gun-Powder on Board was seized, and carried to *Perth*. Some Towns along the Coast of *Fyfe* were likeways visited by them.

The Rebels, while here, committed some Excesses, and rifled several Shops of what was valuable, which the Owners purchased back from the *Pretender* for the 3d of the rice. The poor Labourers were not exempted from their rapine; the Cattle and Grain were promiscuously snatched up by the strolling Parties. The main Body were with the young *Adventurer*, who exercised them every Day, but observing their Stupidity, through Want of the English Tongue, as been incapable to refrain from calling them his *Staigs*, he put up in the Viscount of *Stormont's* Lodging, and once gave a Ball, at which he took a single Trip, and then withdrew.

Gope, not caring to hazard his Forces, by returning the Way he came, fearing the Enemy would set upon him, dispatched Orders Southwards for Transports to be sent to *Aberdeen* to bring his Forces by Sea to *Leith*. The Ministry in *Scotland*, with all Diligence, acted accordingly. The Vessels sailed on the 8th, landed at *Aberdeen* the 10th; the General who camped on the 4th, was waited on by several of the well selected Gentlemen, who did all in their Power to render his March agreeable; yet this did not hinder his encamping amidst ripe standing Corn, notwithstanding Remonstrances to the contrary. He arrived at *Aberdeen* the 11th, rested his Troops till the 15th, when he embarked, and sailed for *Dunbar*, where he landed upon the Night of the 17th.

The Enemy having got Intelligence of the sailing of the transports, and March of the Troops, set out from *Perth* the 12th, and forded the *Forth* at the *Freiw* the 13th. *Gardner's* Lagoons made a Shew of opposing their Passage; but one party appeared at one Place, while the other passed over another; on which *Gairdner* retired. They seemed to direct their Rout to *Glasgow*, which City they summoned; but giving no Answer, they diverted their Rout towards *Edin-*

burgh. They did not trouble Stirling at that Time, tho' the Castle fired several Shot at them, and some Balls are said to have lighted within 20 Yards of the young *Chevalier*. The Dragoons kept about 6 Miles before the Rebels, both hastening forward to *Edinburgh*; where no sooner Notice was got of what passed, than all Precautions were taken for preserving the Place. From the Moment they left *Perth*, the City had repeated Accounts of them. Numbers of Volunteers, Ministers, Advocates, Merchants and Writers, (some of whom stood Centry at the Gates) not only bore Arms themselves, but liberally contributed by Subscription to raising a 1000 Foot for his Majesty's Service, who were to be dismissed at 3 Months End, or, at least, when the Rebellion was over, and, tho' discharged an Hour after listing, yet were they to receive a Month's Pay.

Two Subscriptions were opened the 9th; one for raising the Regiment; in two Hours Money for maintaining 600 Men was secured, and two Months Pay advanced; the other for Volunteers, to which Numbers, who had signed for 7 L. a Month to support the former, crowded to subscribe the latter. Arms were given them from the Magazine in the Castle, whether 6000 had been sent about 10 Days before. Numbers listed in the *Edinburgh* Regiment, but on giving up the City were disbanded. On the Saturday, about 18 Peices of Cannon were brought from the Castle, and planted upon the Ports of the Town; Ramparts, Pallisadoes, and Barricadoes were erected at the Gates and Walls. And, besides the Engineers who came from *England*, the worthy Mr. *MacLaurin* the *Archimedes* of the Age, contributed to fix the Batteries. As I mention this great Man, whose Death, which happened the 14th June 1746. was owing to the Fatigue he underwent at that Time, I must speak a word of his Character having had the Pleasure of his Acquaintance for 10 Years and been his Scholar four. In his publick Station, Where was his Equal! A Man of Genius almost beyond the human Kind! Nothing being difficult to him that was within the Bounds of the human Understanding! his several Works; but particularly, his Defence of Sir *Isaac Newton's* Philosophy, with his reducing the most intricate Problems to the pleasant Method of Fluxions, which he understood beyond any Man I ever knew, will render his Memory lasting like the Sun, whose Density he found out also. And as his Person was of small Height,

he has joined the heavenly Choir, who praise the Almighty for his Works of Creation, the Laws of which he understood almost like an Angel. He was most zealous for the Government, and is an Example of the great Advantage Society might reap from those of the Name of *Mac* in the West, did they cultivate their Minds. He was very genteel, and well shaped; the Lineaments of his outward Parts bespoke his internal Beauties.

The Banks, publick Offices, and the most valuable Effects of some private Persons were secured in the Castle on the 14th. Things being in this Confusion, the City was alarm'd, on the Sunday Morning, with the Approach of the Enemy; the Gates were shut, General *Hamilton's* Dragoons were sent for to join *Gairdner's* at *Corstorphin*; however, publick Worship began, as usual, about 10 o'clock but at 11 the Bell was tolled, which the Congregations, taking for a Signal of the Enemy's advancing, ran out of the Churches. The Magistrates caused the Volunteers, about 400 and Trained-Bands, about 1000, to draw up in the *Lawn-Market* and *Parliament-Close*, where they made a very fine Appearance, Numbers carrying a Musket who were capable of buying a Captain's Commission. Such as had Skill in the military Way gave the Word of Command; *Hamilton's* Dragoons came from *Leith* at an hard Trot. I saw them ride thro' the City brandishing their Swords; heard them huzza as they past, which was chearfully answered, not only by those in Arms, but by the whole Crowd; the Horses and Men, tho' raw and young, looked extremely well, and a Person unskil'd would have been tempted to put too much Trust in them, which I fear too many did. That Horse did not avail so much in Battle seemed a Paradox at first, till General Sir *John Henderson*, September 1650. communicated the same to *Cromwel* in *Scotland*, after a Series of Trials under the illustrious *Gustavus Adolphus*; this appeared at *Leipzic*, 7th September 1631. and in the Battle I am soon to describe. The Dragoons proceeded to *Corstorphin*, where they joined Colonel *Gairdner*, who has frequently declared that had they been with him at *Stirling*, he could have stoped the Enemy's Passage. A little after the whole City-Guard, now augmented with 30 Men headed by four Captains, together with the *Edinburgh* Regiment, which was now about 200, march'd out, and halted on the East-Side of *Colt-Bridge*,

about a Mile from the City, in Expectation of being joined by the Voluteers, who demurred at this; for, as they only engaged to defend the Town, they thought they should keep within it, which they did. The Lord Provost sent Orders to those at the Bridge to march forward to join the Dragoons and receive Orders from the Commanders of the King's Troops. This they obeyed, and continued under Arms till Night. They were supplied with all Sorts of Provisions from Edinburgh, and nothing was wanting on the Side of the Country People to render their Situation agreeable. At 9 o'Clock the Dragoons retired a Mile Eastward, and lay upon their Arms all Night, the Enemy being advanced to *New-Lifton*; the City-Guard came into the Town; the proper Guards, consisting of 700 Volunteers, the Train'd-bands, and such of the Edinburgh Regiment as had not marched out, were placed, the rest receiving Orders not to strip, but to be ready to appear at their Alarm-Posts upon hearing the Bell; yea, some Country People, by Order of the Duke of *Buccleugh's* Doers, and others, came in for Defence of the City, and had Arms, &c. delivered to them.

Next Morning the City-Guard, and a Detachment of the Edinburgh Regiment, marched out again and joined the Dragoons; mean Time the *Highland* Army continued their Rout towards them, on whose Approach a Party of Dragoons posted at *Corstorphin* retired to the Main-Body at *Colt-Bridge*, to the East of which they drew up; but all quitted that Post about three o'Clock after Noon, on Appearance of a Party of the *Rebels* on *Castorphan* Hill. The Dragoons rode off by the North-Side of the City, and proceeded for *Haddington*; their Baggage and Tents were carried into the Castle; the City-Soldiers came into the Town, where Things were in a general Uproar, every one setting forth the Actions of the Day, as he favoured or disliked the Cause. The Magistrates and Council, in Expectation of *Cope's* landing every Moment, assembled in the *Goldsmiths-hall*; a Petition was presented from the principal Inhabitants, desiring a general Meeting should be called, in order to determine what was proper to be done. After some Reasoning the Demand was granted, the Fire-Bell was rung, the most Part of the Citizens came to the *New-church* Isle, where, after formally telling the Design of the Meeting, the Question was put by the Lord Provost, the Colonel of the

new Regiment, and Member of Parliament for the City, *Receive the Dragoons into the Town or not?* It was answered, *No Dragoons.* As his Lordship did not incline to invite them, for fear of the Consequences, so General Guest was averse to send them, unless they were formally called. In my humble Judgment, had either the Dragoons come in, or the Town stood out itself, as was the Provost's Opinion, the Mischief which closed this fatal Week would have been prevented. The Rebels had no Cannon, and it is known they are not fit for a Seige. Then the Question was put, *Defend the Town or not.* All, but two, said, *Not.* Upon this it was agreed to capitulate on the best Terms that could be got, and, in the mean Time, that the King's Arms should be returned into the Castle. As they were about to name Deputies to treat with the *Chevalier*, a Letter was handed in, directed to the Lord Provost and Magistrates, whose Superscription was, *Charles Prince of Wales, &c.* On mentioning these Words the Reader was stopt; so the Meeting broke up. Afterwards Deputies were sent off to the *Chevalier*, who had halted a little to the West of *Corstorphin*, but, on receiving an Epistle from a trusty Friend of what was passing, gave Orders to march. The Volunteers and *Edinburgh* Regiment gave their Arms into the Castle; a Party of the Trained-Bands and City Regiment kept Guard all Night. At *Gray's Mill*, two Miles Southwest of *Edinburgh*, the Deputies waited on the *Pretender*, who answered their Instructions thus: I do not treat with Subjects." The Chiefs added, "The King's Declaration, and "Prince's Manifesto, contained such Terms as every Subject "ought to accept with Joy." And gave them till Two o'Clock in the Morning to return a positive Answer. The *Chevalier* asked what was become of the Volunteers Arms? To which it was answered, They were delivered to the Castle; at which he was displeased and said, "If any of the Town's "Arms be missing I know what to do." No Answer coming to the Rebels, but a farther Delay being asked, which was refused, Orders were given to *Lochziel* to march with his Clan undiscovered to the *Nether-Bow*. The Coach which had returned with the Deputies through the *West-Port*, was at this Time coming down the Street; and, being urgent to get out, the Porter and Centinels, notwithstanding the strictest Orders not to open the Gates, allowed the same to go out; the Port being opened, the *Camerons* rushed in, possessed themselves of it,

it, then of the Main-Guard, making the Soldiers on Duty Prisoners, placed Centries at all the Gates and Weigh-House. This so surprised the Magistrates and Council, who had still been sitting, that they directly brok up. There were loud Complaints of Provost *Stuart*, without and within Doors; so that, upon the 30th November, he was taken into Custody of two of the King's Messengers, and, December 13th, he was sent to the Tower on Suspicion of High-Treason, and has since been tried and acquitted. The Parliament-Close was filled with Rebels before Five in the Morning. They were very naked, and several wanted Arms, especially Firelocks, but were supplied by those of the City which fell into their Hands. Their Weapons, which were unfit for Use, were rubbed up by the Armourers, who at this Time got constant Employment. They set about providing Clothes, Shoes and Linens, of which they were in great Want, the most Part having nothing but a short old Coat of coarse Tartan, a Pair of Hose, much worn, coming scarce up to their Knees; their Plaids and Bonnets in the same Condition. The Remainder of their Army came to Duddingston with the Chevalier, having fetched an half Compass about the Town for Fear of the Castle-Guns. He made his Entry to the Abbey through the Road that leads by St. Anthony's Well, the Duke of *Percy* riding on his Right, and Lord *Elcho*, who joined the Night before, on his Left Hand. They were all very much jaded, few but in *Highland* Clothes. As he came to the Head of the Hill, upon the Road leading to the Well, he alighted and walked some few Steps, where he halted; several of the Disaffected went forward, fell upon their Knees, and kissed his Hand; he received them in a very popular Way. It was here the first general Huzza was raised; then walking down to St. Anne's Yards, he mounted his Horse, (*viz.* a bay brown Gelding) where he received another Huzza; and, as he entred the Abbey, a third; he discovered great Satisfaction at his Reception, smiling all the Time. He was a tall slender young Man, about five Feet ten Inches high, of a ruddy Complexion, high nosed, large rolling brown Eyes, long visaged, red-haired, but at that Time wore a pale Periwig. He was in *Highland Habit*, had a blue Sash, wrought with Gold, that came over his Shoulder; red Velvet breeches, a green Velvet Bonnet, with a white Cockade, and a Gold Lace about it; being in his Boots I could not observe

His Legs ; he had a Silver-hilted broad Sword, and was shewn great Respect by his Forces ; his Speech was very like that of an *Irishman*, and very fly ; he spoke frequently to *O Sullivan* and Mr. *Murray*. Being come to *Holyroodhouse*, he put up in Duke *Hamilton's* Lodging. In the mean Time, such as forced into the Town took Care to secure the Heralds for the ensuing Proclamations. Betwixt Twelve and One o'Clock at Noon fix of them came to the Cross in their Robes, with a Trumpet before them. *David Beatt*, whose Father had been in the Rebellion 1715, and he himself bankrupt, kept the Papers in his Hand, and read them to the Herald who repeated after him. Some of the Clans got up to the Cross before the Heralds, where, meeting with their Friends, they saluted each other ; they took their Guns, and, with a jocose Air, presented them upon the Cross to such of their Comrades as they observed, to shew their Satisfaction, and Alertness at Arms. While the Clan *Cameron* in three Ranks surrounded the Cross, while *Barisdale*, with *Mac Donald* a Papist, and *Taylor*, at the Head of the *Canongate*, were upon it, the Streets and Windows crowded with Spectators at the unusual Scene, the following Declarations were read amidst some *Huzza's* : which, however well understood by the greatest Number of the Bystanders, sure I am the fortieith Man of the Guard did not know a single Sentence of them.

His MAJESTY's most gracious Declaration.

JAMES R.

JAMES VIII. by the Grace of GOD, King of Scotland, England, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c. To all Our loving Subjects of what Degree or Quality soever, Greeting :

Having always born the most constant Affection to our ancient Kingdom of *Scotland*, from whence We derive Our Royal Origin, and where Our Progenitors have swayed the Sceptre with Glory, through a longer Succession of Kings than any Monarchy upon Earth can at this Day boast of, We cannot but behold, wit the deepest Concern the Miseries they suffer under a foreign Usurpation, and the intolcable Burdens daily added to their Yoke, which become yet more sensible

fensible to Us, when We consider the constant Zeal and Affection the Generality of our Subjects of that Our ancient Kingdom have expressed for us all on all Occasions, and particularly when We had the Satisfaction of being Ourselves among them.

We see a Nation always famous for Valour, and highly esteemed by the greatest of foreign Potentates, reduced to the Condition of a Province, under the specious Pretence of an Union with a more powerful Neighbour. In consequence of this pretended Union, grievous and unprecedented Taxes have been laid on and levied with Severity, in Spight of all the Representations that could be made to the contrary ; and these have not failed to produce that Poverty and Decay of Trade, which were easily foreseen to be the necessary Consequences of such oppressive Measures.

To prevent the just Resentment which could not but arise from such Usage, Our faithful *Highlanders*, a People always trained up and inured to Arms, have been deprived of them : Forts and Citadels have been built and garrisoned, where no foreign Invasion could be apprehended, and a Military Government has been effectually introduced, as into a conquered Country. It is easy to foresee what must be the Consequences of such violent and unprecedented Proceedings, if a timely Remedy be not put to them ; neither is it less manifest, that such a Remedy can ever be obtained, but by Our Restoration to the Throne of our Ancestors, into whose Royal Hearts such destructive Maxims could never find Admittance.

We think it needless to call to Mind how solicitous We have ever been, and how often We have ventured Our Royal Person to compass this great End, which the divine Providence seems now to have furnished Us with the Means of doing effectually, by enabling Our good Subjects in *England* to shake off the Yoke under which they have likeways felt the Share of the common Calamities. Our former Experience leaves us no Room to doubt of the cheerful and hearty Concurrence of Our *Scots* Subjects on this Occasion, towards the perfecting the great and glorious Work : But that none may be deterred, by the Memory of past Miseries, from returning to their Duty, and being restored to the Happiness they formerly enjoyed, We, in this publick

Manner think fit to make known Our gracious Intentions towards all our People.

We do therefore, by this Our Royal Declaration, absolutely and effectually pardon and remit all Treasons, and other Crimes hitherto committed against Our Royal Father or Ourselves: From the Benefit of which Pardon We except none, but such as shall, after the Publication hereof, wilfully and maliciously oppose Us, or those who shall appear, or endeavour to appear, in Arms for Our Service.

We farther Declare, That We will, with all convenient Speed, call a free Parliament, That, by the Advice and Assistance of such an Assembly, We may be enabled to repair the Breaches caused by so long an Usurpation, to redress all Grievances, and to free our People from the unsupportable Burden of the Malt-Tax, and all other Hardships and Impositions which have been the Consequences of the pretended Union, that so the Nation may be restored to that Honour, Liberty, and Independency, which it formerly enjoyed.

We likeways promise, upon Our Royal Word, to protect, secure, and maintain all Our Protestant Subjects in the free Exercise of their Religion, and in the full Enjoyment of all their Rights, Privileges, and Immunities, and in the secure Possession of all Churches, Universities, Colleges, and Schools, conform to the Laws of the Land.

All this We shall be ready to confirm in our first Parliament, in which we promise to pass any Act or Acts that shall be judged necessary to secure each private Person in the full Possession of his Liberty and Property, to advance Trade, to relieve the Poor, and establish the general Welfare and Tranquility of the Nation: In all such Matters We are fully resolved to act always by the Advice of our Parliaments, and to value none of our Titles so much, as that of *Common Father of our People*, which We shall ever shew Ourselves to be, by Our constant Endeavours to promote the Quiet and Happiness of all Our Subjects. And We shall be particularly sollicitous to settle, encourage, and maintain the Fishery and Linen-Manufactory of the Nation, which We are sensible may be of such Advantage to it, and which, We hope, are Works reserved for Us to accomplish.

As for those who shall appear more fignally zealous for the Recovery of Our just Rights, and the Prosperity of their Country; We shall take effectual Care to reward them according to their respective Degrees and Merits, And We particularly promise, as aforesaid, Our full, free, and general Pardon to all Officers, Soldiers and Sailors, now engaged in the Service of the Usurper, whether of the Sea or Land, provided that, upon the Publication hereof, and before they engage in any Fight or Battle against our Forces, they quit the said unjust and unwarrantable Service, and return to their Duty: In which Case We shall pay them all the Arrears that shall be at that Time due to them from the Usurper: We shall grant to the Officers the same Commissions they shall then bear, if not higher; and to all Soldiers and Sailors a Gratification of a whole Year's Pay, for their Forwardness in promoting Our Service.

We farther promise and declare, that the Vassals of such as shall, without Regard to Our present Declaration, obstinately persist in their Rebellion, and thereby forfeit all Pretensions to Our Royal Clemency, shall be delivered from all Servitude they were formerly bound to, and shall have Grants and Charters of their Lands to be held immediately of the Crown, provided they, upon the Publication of this Our Declaration, declare openly for Us, and join heartily in the Cause of their Country.

And having thus declared Our gracious Intentions to Our loving Subjects, We do hereby require and command them to be assisting to Us in the Recovery of Our Rights, and of their own Liberties: And that all Our Subjects, from the Age of Sixteen to Sixty, do, upon the setting up of Our Royal Standard, immediately repair to it, or join themselves to such as shall first appear for Us in their respective Shires; and also to seize the Horses and Arms of all suspected Persons, and all Ammunition, Forage, and whatever else may be necessary for the Use of Our Forces.

We also strictly command all Receivers, Collectors, or other Persons, who may be seized of any Sum or Sums of Money levied in the Name, or for the Use of the Usurper, to retain such Sum or Sums of Money in their own Hands, till they can pay them to some Person of Distinction appearing publickly for Us, and demanding the same for Our Use and Service, whose Receipt or Receipts shall be a sufficient Discharge

Discharge for all such Collectors, Receivers, or other Persons, their Heirs, &c.

Lastly, We do hereby require all Sheriffs of Shires, Stewards of Stewartries, and their respective Deputies, Magistrates of Royal Boroughs, and Bailies of Regalities, and all others to whom it may belong, to publish this our Declaration at the Market-Crosses of their respective Towns and Boroughs, and there to proclaim Us, under the Penalty of being proceeded against according to Law, for their Neglect of so necessary and important a Duty.

*Given at our Court at Rome, the 23d Day of December 1743
the Forty third Year of Our Reign.*

J. R.

J A M E S R.

WHereas We have a near Prospect of being restored to the Throne of Our Ancestors, by the good Inclinations of Our Subjects towards Us; and whereas, on account of the present Situation of this Country, it will be absolutely impossible for Us to be in Person at the first Setting up of Our Royal Standard, and even some Time after; We therefore esteem it for Our Service, and the Good of Our Kingdoms and Dominions, to nominate and appoint, as We hereby nominate, constitute and appoint, Our dearest Son CHARLES Prince of *Wales*, to be sole Regent of Our Kingdoms of *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*, and of all other Our Dominions during Our Absence. It is Our Will and Intention, That Our said dearest Son should enjoy and exercise all that Power and Authority, which, according to the ancient Constitution of Our Kingdoms, has been enjoyed and exercised by former Regents. Requiring all Our faithful Subjects to give all due Submission and Obedience to Our Regent aforesaid, as immediately representing Our Royal Person, and acting by Our Authority. And We do hereby revoke all Commissions of Regency granted to any Person or Persons whatsoever. And, *lastly*, We hereby dispense with all Formalities, and other Omissions that may be herein contained, declaring this Our Commission to be as firm and valid, to all Intents and Purposes, as if it had passed Our Great Seals, and as if it were according to the usual Stile and Forms. Given under Our Sign Manual and Privy-Signet, at Our Court at *Rome*, the 23d Day of December 1743. in the Forty third Year of Our Reign.

J. R. (L. S.)

CHARLES

CHARLES P.R.

BY Virtue and Authority of the above Commission of Re-b
gency, granted unto Us by the King our Royal Father,
We are now come to execute His Majesty's Will and Plea-
sure, by setting up His Royal Standard, and asserting his un-
doubted Right to the Throne of his Ancestors.

We do therefore, in His Majesty's Name, and pursuant to
the Tenor of his severel Declarations, hereby grant a free,
full and general Pardon for all Treasons, Rebellions, and Of-
fences whatsoever, committed at any Time before the Publi-
cation hereof, against Our Royal Grandfather, His Present
Majesty, and Ourselves. To the Benefit of this Pardon We
shall deem justly intitled all such of His Majesty's Subjects,
as shall testify their Willingness to accept of it, either by
joining Our Forces with all convenient Diligence, by setting
up His Royal Standard in other Places, by repairing for Our
Service to any Place where it shall be set up; or, at least, by
openly renouncing all pretended Allegiance to the Usurper,
and all Obedience to His Orders; or to those of any Person
or Persons commissioned or employed by him, or acting avow-
edly for him.

As for those who shall appear more signally zealous for the
Recovery of His Majesty's just Rights, and the Prosperity of
their Country, We shall take effectual Care to have them
rewarded according to their respective Degrees and Merits;
and We particularly promise, as aforesaid, a full, free, and
general Pardon to all Officers, Soldiers, and Sailors, now en-
gaged in the Service of the Usurper, provided that upon
the Publication hereof, and before they engage in any Fight
or Battle against His Majesty's Forces, they quit the said un-
just and unwarrantable Service, and return to their Duty; since
they cannot but be sensible, that no Engagements, entred into
with a foreign Usurper, can dispence with the Allegiance they
owe to their natural Sovereign. and as a farther Encourage-
ment to them to comply with their Duty and our Commands,
We promise to every such Officer, the same or a higher Post
in Our Service, than that which he at present enjoys, with
full Payment of whatever Arrears may be due to him at the
Time of his declaring for Us, and to every Soldier, Trooper,
and Dragoon, who shall join Us, as well as to every Seaman
and Mariner of the Fleet, who shall declare for and serve Us,
all their Arrears, and a whole Year's Pay to be given to each
of

c. them as a Gratuity, as soon as ever the Kingdoms shall be in a State of Tranquillity.

We do hereby farther promise and declare, in His Majesty's Name, and by Virtue of the above-said Commission, That, as soon as ever that happy State is obtained, he will, by and with the Advice of a free Parliament, wherein no Corruption, nor undue Influence whatsoever, shall be used to bias the Votes of the Electors, or Elected, settle, confirm, and secure all the Rights, Ecclesiastical and Civil, of each of His respective Kingdoms; His Majesty being fully resolved to maintain the Church of England as by Law established, and likewise the Protestant Churches of Scotland and Ireland conformable to the Laws of each respective Kingdom, together with a Toleration to all Protestant Dissenters, He being utterly averse to all Persecution and Oppression whatsoever, particularly on account of Conscience and Religion. and We Ourselves, being perfectly convinced of the Reasonableness and Equity of the same Principles, do, in consequence hereof, farther promise and declare, That all His Majesty's Subjects shall be by Him and Us maintained in the full Enjoyment and Possession of all their Rights, Privileges, and Immunities, and especially of all Churches, Universities, Colleges, and Schools, conformable to the Laws of the Land, which shall ever be the unalterable Rule of His Majesty's Government, and Our own Actions.

And, that this our Undertaking may be accompanied with as little present Inconveniency as possible to the King's Subjects, We do hereby authorise and require all Civil Officers and Magistrates, now in Place and Office, to continue till further Orders, to execute their respective Employments in Our Name and by Our Authority, as far as may be requisite for the Maintenance of common Justice, Order and Quiet; Witting and requiring them, at the same Time, to give strict Obedience to such Orders and Directions as may from Time to Time be issued out by Us, or those who shall be vested with any Share of Our Authority and Power.

We also command and require all Officers of the Revenue, Customs and Excise, all Tax Gatherers of what Denomination soever, and all others who may have any Part of the publick Money in their Hands, to deliver it immediately to some principal Commander authorised by Us, and take his Receipt for the same, which shall be to them a sufficient Discharge; and,

and, in case of Refusal, We authorise and charge all such Our Commanders to exact the same for Our Use, and to be accountable for it to Us, or Our Officers for that Purpose appointed.

And having thus sincerely, and in the Presence of Almighty GOD, declared the true Sentiments and Intentions of the KING Our Royal Father, as well as Our own, in this Expedition, We do hereby require and command all His loving Subjects to be assisting to Us in the Recovery of His just Rights, and of their own Liberties : And that all such, from the Age of Sixteen to Sixty, do forthwith repair to His Majesty's Royal Standard, or join themselves to such as shall first appear in their respective Shires for His Service : And also to seize the Horses and Arms of all suspected Persons, and all Ammunition, Forage and all whatever else may be necessary for the Use of Our Forces.

Lastly, We do hereby require all Mayors, Sheriffs, and other Magistrates of what Denomination soever, their respective Deputies, and all others to whom it may belong, to publish this Our Declaration at the Market-Crosses of their respective Cities, Towns and Boroughs, and there to proclaim His MAJESTY, under the Penalty of being proceeded against according to Law, for the Neglect of so necessary and important a Duty. For as We have hereby graciously and sincerely offered a free and general Pardon for all that is passed, so We, at the same Time, seriously warn all His Majesty's Subjects, That We shall leave to the Rigour of the Law, all those who shall from henceforth oppose Us, or wilfully and deliberately do or concur in any Act or Acts Civil or Military, to the Lett or Detriment of Us, Our Cause or Title, or to the Destruction, Prejudice, or Annoyance of those, who shall, according to their Duty and Our Intentions thus publickly signified, declare and act for Us.

Given at Paris, the 16th May 1745.

C. P. R.

Tho' these Manifesto's have been very solidly confuted by the *Occasional Writer*, yet I must here observe, *imo.* I cannot think the Declaration of the Pretender was either penned or printed at *Rome*; of the last I have been frequently assured; and indeed from this Circumstance, of the Proclamation issued out at *Lochiel*, of Date *August 22d*, setting 30,000 L. up-

on the Head of his sacred Majesty King *George*, being imposed on the same Type with that Paper, the Matter would almost appear. The same Thing may be remarked of a small Piece in *Oktavo*, called a Letter, containing the like Thiags with his Declaration, which was handed about among his Party in *June* before.

2do. It is evident a Correspondence has been carried on with him by the Disaffected, who are generally against the Union, that Bulwark of our Religion against *Rome*, and of our Liberties and Trade against *France*.

3to. The levying Taxes from the Islanders and Highlanders is false; for they will neither traffick themselves, or suffer others to trade among them. And sure no Men, who have experienced the good of Commerce, will complain of the generous Legislature, for having put an Hardship upon them. Who can say he groans under Tyranny in *Britain*? Besides, if Trade increases by the Wisdom of the Parliament, who endeavour to extend the several Branches thereof, why not pay a moderate Sum for supporting of it?

4to. The depriving the Clans of Arms is so far from being wrong, that it has the Precedent from the Six *Jameses*, who did them twenty Times more hurt in one Reign, than this mild Government have since 1688. And here I observe, that, from that Period, there is not an Highlander or Islander who has been stript of an Acre of Land. Strange the Pretender did not cry out upon our gracious King for sending a 1000 L. to teach them *Heresy*! But whether is it better to take from them their Arms, or allow them to murder one another, as on the 15th *July* 1544. when the *MacDonalds* and *Frasers* fought almost to the Extirpation of either Party, there remaining but seven of the former, and two of the latter, miserably wounded? Whether is it more gentle to disarm them, or hang 300 of them in Chains as King *James I.* did?

5to. His Profession of putting down 'Forts and Citadels' in the *Highlands*, where no foreign Invasion could be apprehended, (a Fact contradicted by his Son's Expedition) ought to militate against his Cause; for if the Rebels would open their Eyes, they must see that these Garrisons cause vast Sums of Money to circulate among them, besides other Good which they do, as will easily occur to any Person skilled in Trade, or who knows these Parts. I humbly think it would not be unworthy of a Parliament, to enquire anent the

Adviser of the Government, to build Barracks at *Fort-Augustus*, a Place naturally weak, overlooked by some Hills, which, if planted with Cannon, might easily command it ; and as the Country, from the Point of *Ardnamurchan* to *Tongue* in *Strathnavern*, is almost 140 Miles, what Number of Garrisons would be needful to quell 7 or 800 Men coming from the Isles, who would be joined by 500, under such as *Keppoch*, in a Day's Time, before the Troops could be drawn together. Could the Earls of *Mar* and *Caithness* prevent *Donald Balloch* from landing in the Night, and surprising their Forces anno 1428 ? Besides, the Coast is generally deep in these Places. In short, were their Forts demolished (except *Inverlochy*, which has a Communication with the Sea) these tumultuary People, in a few Years, when seeing their Loss for the Want of them, and come to themselves, would perhaps say, We have finned ! Give us our Forts again ! Strange the Prerender did not call the Road made by General *Wade* in 1728. a Grievance also.

6to. As to the Malt-Tax, it could be no great Bait to these Rebels, there being little thereof among them ; they are supplied with *Usquebaugh*, i. e. *Aquavitæ*, from the North, which they carry by Land, and are immoderately fond of ; they have Wines from their Masters the French. What Officer of Excise would incline to dwell among a People clustered together, who know almost none but themselves ? Sure thero is none in most of the Isles, and none in the *Highlands*, except at *Inverlochy*, where Batteries enforce the Laws. Farther, as Gentlemen of Estates know the great Advantage reaped from that Duty, in that it makes the Grain sell better, and that the Excrescence advances the Linnen Manufactory, so beneficial to the Subject, the more this sweet Morsel might catch these Insurgents, the more would it alienate the Affections of all Men of Sense.

7mo. He seems noway sensible of the Tyranny of King James VII. but rather judges he was wronged. His promising to maintain his Protestant Subjects in the free Exercise of their Religion, &c. conform to the Laws of the Land, must be understood, not the Laws since the *Usurpation*, but those of his royal Father, who sent a Popish Army to root out the Presbyterians with the most vigorous Prosecution. And no Doubt the freeing *Britain*, particularly *Scotland*, from Imposition, is to restore it to its ancient State under the *Janeses*, when

when the People sold their Commodities to the *French*, who eased them of the Trouble of trading to the *East* and *West-Indies*; gave them Wines and Cambricks in Return, of which they were so fond, as, for a small Sum, all of them, from the Age of Sixteen to Sixty (a Method revived by the Pretender) would repair to the Royal Standard, and march as the Court of *Versailles* directed.

8vo. That a Spirit of arbitrary Power breathes in the Father's is clear, and that the Son has servilely copied from him is as evident. What strange Conduct is this, to promise Pardon to Soldiers, Sailors, &c. only if they should come over to him? The Bishop of *Oxford* and Mr. *Wishart* need not seek the Acts of *Leipsick* to prove that it is a Popish Tenet, *To keep no Faith with Hereticks*. Has not the Popish Pretender declared it in the strongest Terms? Has he not said, that 'no Engagements (yea, Oaths) entred into with a foreign Usurper, can dispense with the Allegiance they owe to their natural Sovereign?' I have been credibly informed, that the old Pretender draws a Paper extreamly well, and is a Man of exquisite Sense, which I had no Scruple to believe, if he had not discovered a Mind insensible of the most apparent Slights from the *French* Court and General-Officers. An Instance of which the Reader will please receive. One Day the *Mare-schal de Villars*, who was an excellent Commander, but very vain, had an Interview with this present King of *Sweden*, that illustrious Hero, then Prince of *Hesse-Cassel*, and Generalissimo of the *Dutch* Troops. Some of the Princes of the Blood, the Pretender and chief Nobility, came with the former; several General-Officers and Princes with the latter. The Vivacity of *Villars* took the Start of the *Swedish* Monarch. With an Air becoming so great a Man, he introduced the Grand-Children of *Lewis*, and the rest in his Train; then, as if correcting a Mistake, he turns to the *Chevalier*, and says, with a jeering Smile, thrice over, *Voyez le Chevalier de St. George*. His Highness taking up the Taunt, shifted the Look from the General to the unfortunate Tool, (beholding the one with Disdain, the other with Compassion) brought on another Discourse, and did not receive him. That the Pretender is a good General, and consequently prudent, is declared by the Author of the *Military History of Lewis XIV.* in his Description of the Battle of *Malplaquet*, 11th September 1709. where he first took the Name of *Chevalier de St. George*, and spilt much *British* Blood.

Blood. A meritorious Recommendation to the *British* Throne ! But I must be allowed either to discredit what I heard of his Parts, and the Account of his Bravery, or else conclude his Son's Council have used Freedom with his Name : For, to say no more, Can a Man in his Senses be supposed to court a Throne with these Methods, *viz.* Accuse the major, *England*, of oppressing *Scotland* the minor Part ? The best Observations upon them, and those of the 9th and 10th *October*, are to be had in the Resolutions of Parliament, 7th *November* 1745.

The Lords having seen these Papers, caused read them ; which being done, a Committee was appointed to consider them, who brought in the Substance of what shall soon be inserted ; whereon a Message was sent to the Commons, importuning that the Lords desired a Conference with them at three o'Clock in the Afternoon next Day, *viz.* 7th *November*, 'in the Painted Chamber, touching certain treasonable Declarations and printed Papers published and dispersed about the Kingdom by the Pretender and his eldest Son.' The Desire was agreed to, a Number was named, who accordingly met with the Lords. Their Resolution was laid before the Commons, who unanimously ratified the same. The Tenor of which is as follows.

Resolved,

' By the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons in Parliament assembled, that the two Papers respectively signed *James R.* and dated at *Rome* the 23d Day of *December* 1743. and the four printed Papers, signed *Charles P. R.*, dated respectively the 16th Day of *May* 1745. *August* 22d 1745. the 9th Day of *October* 1745. and the 10th Day of *October* 1745. are false, scandalous and traiterous Libels, intended to poison the Minds of his Majesty's Subjects ; containing the most malicious, audacious and wicked Incitements to them to commit the most abominable Treasons ; groundless and infamous Calumnies and Indignities against the Government, Crown, and sacred Person of his most excellent Majesty King *George II.* our only rightful and undoubted Sovereign ; and seditious and presumptuous Declarations against the Constitution of this united Kingdom ; representing the high Court of Parliament, now legally assembled by his Majesty's Authority, as an unlawful Assembly ; and all the Acts of Parliament, passed since the late happy Revolution, as null and void ; and that the said printed Papers are full

of the utmost Arrogance and insolent Affronts to the Honour
of the British Nation, in supposing that his Majesty's Sub-
jects are capable of being imposed upon, seduced or terrified,
by false and opprobrious Invectives, insidious Promises, or
vain and impotent Menaces; or of being deluded to ex-
change the free Enjoyment of their Rights and Liberties, as
well civil as religious, under the well established Govern-
ment of a Protestant Prince, for Popery and Slavery under
a Popish bigotted Pretender, long since excluded by the
wisest Laws made to secure our excellent Constitution, and
abjured by the most solemn Oaths.

Resolved,

By the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons in
Parliament assembled, that, in Abhorrence and Detestation
of such vile and treasonable Practices, the said several
printed Papers be burnt by the Hands of the common Hang-
man, at the Royal-Exchange in London, on Tuesday the 12th
Day of this instant November, at One of the Clock in the
Afternoon; and that the Sheriffs of London do then attend,
and cause the same to be burnt there accordingly.' These
Orders were punctually obeyed, amidst the repeated Acclama-
tions of a prodigious Multitude.

These Papers were sent under Cover to the Ministers of
the City of Edinburgh, and some in the Country, about the
27th August. Copies were likeways conducted to the Officers of
the Crown, who did all in their Power to nip this Sedition in
the Bud, embracing every Occasion of stifling the pernicious
Design. Some Printing-Houses were searched; but as no-
thing criminal was found in them, Innocence so far ap-
pears.

The Chevalier is no sooner in the Abbey, than he falls upon
a Method of fleecing the Inhabitants of Edinburgh. A Message
is sent to the City, superscribed Charles P. R. and subscribed
C. P. R. requiring, on Pain of military Execution, that a 1000
Tents, 2000 Targets, 6000 Pairs of Shoes, and a proportional
Number of White-Iron Water-Cantines, should be prepared
against the 23d. The Deacons met with their several Incor-
porations, and took a Note of what each could furnish of this
extravagant Demand. A Report was made by these to the
general Meeting upon the 24th, and the several Articles were
prepared; and 2 £. 6 d. was laid upon every 20 £. of real Rent
for Payment of them.

Upon

Upon the 18th an Order is proclaimed over the Cross of Edinburgh, requiring all the Inhabitants of that City and Suburbs, and of the County of *Mid-Lothian*, to give up, at their own Expence, the whole Arms and Ammunition in their Custody, under Pain of being deemed Rebels, and treated as such. The Muskets which they got this Way were tried by them, sometimes at the Expence of those who were near them, yea, some Shots proved fatal to themselves.

That Day a Drum beat up for Soldiers through the City, in the Pretender's Name, and 5 Guineas were offered at listing. A Captain's Commission was proffered to such as could raise 40, and a Lieutenancy to these who would bring 20 Men to the Field. The Author of the *Caledonian Mercury*, James Grant a Papist, who had been an Officer in *Airly's* Regiment in the Rebellion 1715. joined with all his Force. That Newspaper was moulded to the Times. A Journal of the *Chevalier's* Progress is inserted; the Alacrity and Courage of the *Highlanders* is cried up to the Skies; the Duke of *Berwick's* Letters 1732. from the Trenches of *Gaeta*, anent *Charles*, are marked down. He is compared to *Charles XII.* of *Sweden*; but, I fear, *Preston*, *Falkirk*, and *Culloden*, will disprove the Assertion. The King's Speech, which is as fine a one as ever came from a Throne, is commented upon, and called, *The Elector of Hanover's Speech to his pretended Parliament*; and, when News are barren, the ill-digested and false *Memoirs of Lord Dundee*, who was as ungrateful to King *William*, as *Grant* to King *George*, were continued in that Paper, till the whole were exhausted.

While the *Chevalier* was in the *Abbey of Holyroodhouse*, and his little Army at *Duddingston*, each supplying their Necessities, General *Cope* was at *Dunbar*, joined by two Regiments of Dragoons under Brigadier General *Fowkes*, who had come from *England* to take upon him the Command of the Horse, and by several of the Volunteers, who had engaged for Defence of the City of *Edinburgh*; as these Gentlemen were under Arms, in Time of the general Meeting upon the 16th, so that they could not be present to controul what was then done, they now resolve to shew their Zeal.

The Earl of *Hume*, Lords *Belhaven*, Justice-Clerk and *Drummore*, all great Men, and extreamly well-disposed, did all in their Power to render *Cope's* Expedition agreeable; they

they were at considerable Pains to get Intelligence, (which that Officer was not careful enough to procure in the North) and inform him of the real State of Affairs.

On the *Tuesday's* Night the Forces disembarked ; a Council of War was held, whether to march forward and fight the Rebels, or retire till joined by some veteran Regiments. The Gentlemen who were affected in their private Properties, were much more touched at the dismal Change, of seeing the *Luthians* and Metropolis of the Nation, as remarkable for their Loyalty in general, as for their stately Buildings, Order and Beauty of their Streets, from the Seat of Judges and great Men, from a Seminary of Arts and Sciences, from the Centre of Politeness and Decency, become the Habitation of the *Camerons*, (whose Chieftain *Lochziel* was Governor of the Town) *MacGregors*, *MacDonalds*, &c. were desirous of being rid of such Neighbours ; and therefore urged the marching forward to the Attack. I saw a Letter of the 19th, from a Minister in the Castle of *Edinburgh*, whither some of the Clergy had retired, directed to Colonel *Gairdner*, setting forth the Number of the Rebels ; as also, that, if they were not fallen upon next Day, they would be joined by more from the North. Some of the Party were for putting that Epistle in the News ; but as I judged it would exasperate them against the Gentleman, whose Writ and Stile I knew, I took Care to have it sent him. Several Officers were for advancing, while others insisted to retire, till farther Assistance should be sent. *Cope* was almost brought into this Opinion on the *Wednesday* ; but next Morning, (whether by Orders from above, or not, is but a Circumstance) he altered his Mind. The Lords formerly named, and Gentlemen who waited on him, procured Carriages for his Baggage. The People brought their Horses with such Alacrity, that their Faces and Gestures spoke the Uprightness of their Minds : But whether from a Tenderness in *Cope* to alleviate the Burden, by communicating it among many, or an Hardship he inclined to put upon the innocent Objects of his Hate, I shall not determine : Sure it is he caused yoke twice more than was needful ; nor did he give the least Gratuity to the Men for their Pains. *Thursday* 19th the Drums were beat to Arms ; the Troops marched to *Haddingtoun*, where they encamped that Night : Next Day they proceeded westward, and about 11 o'Clock of the Forenoon, halted upon a Corn-Field to

the West of *Seatoun*, opposite to *Cockeny*. This was indeed a most advantageous Situation, had the *Highlanders* attacked them in it ; for they had a Ditch in Front, from whence two Parks, divided by a high Dyke, slopped upward ; the Sea, *Cockeny, &c.* on their Flank ; a Park-Dyke on their Right, at the Ends of which there were Roads lying East and West. In short, the Ground about them was all inclosed, except from the East, whence they came. All Things necessary, both for Men and Horses, were supplied from the Country, with a Chearfulness not to be described, and Workmen waited nothing but Orders to enter upon the most difficult Tasks.

The Rebels, who had been joined on the 19th by the Grants of *Glenmoristoun*, decamped about 4 o'Clock of the Morning, of the 20th ; for having early Intelligence of the Arrival of the Troops, they had resolved to fight them. The Pretender, at their Head, presenting his Sword, said, *My Friends, I have flung away the Scabbard.* This was answered with an Huzza, altho' they were in a great Pannick. He proceeded slowly towards *Inveresk*, thence to *Carberry-Hill*, along the Brow of which the Rebels extended themselves, till they espied the Army. It was now two o'Clock, when they raised a loud Huzza, which was readily answered by the Forces. Had *Cope* attacked them directly, or advanced to *Esk-Water*, and stopt them on their March to *Musselburgh-Bridge*, Things had gone otherways. Had the illustrious Herro, our glorious Deliverer, acted at *Culloden*, as *Cope* did at *Preston*, what would have been the Event ? The two Armies continued in View of each other till betwixt 4 and 5 o'Clock, when the King's Army raised some Huzzas, which were not answered. Some Cannon were likewise discharged at a Party of Rebels, who had got into the Church-Yeard of *Tranent*, but did no other Harm than breaking one of their Arms ; at which they fled in the utmost Confusion, which should have been improved. About an Hour after, the Rebels, from their Motions, seemed to be for an Attack. They were advancing by the Road at the upper Dyke westward, and at the End of it were to turn East and take the Troops in Flank. Had the Dragoons rode through the Passages, and the Foot crossed through the Park, such a Fire might have been given as would soon have obliged them to flee ; but, in place of this, the Lines only wheeled, and so fronted the West, to receive the Enemy ; which they observing, retired to their former

Ground. Night now coming on, both lay upon their Arms. *Cope* ordered some Fires to be set on at proper Distance, which discovered to the Rebels what was doing in the Camp; whereas in their's not one Word was heard, not the least Sign seen, except a Lantern with a Candle, which, like a Meteor, burnt a little, and then disappeared. Some Coehorns were thrown at them, but did no Harm. About 3 in the Morning the Enemy crossed through some Inclosures, and getting below *Seatoun-House*, they formed, while another Body was stealing a March to prevent the Army's Escape to *Edinburgh*. Now it was almost 5 o'Clock, when the Pretender addressed his Party thus : *Follow me, Gentlemen ; by the Assistance of God I will this Day make you a free and happy People.* But, while marching, *Lochziel* advised him not to advance, and ordered a small Party to stand about him upon a rising Field to the South-west of *Seatoun*. Their Right Wing, consisting of the Regiments of *Keppoch*, *Glengary*, *Clanronald* and *Glenco*, commanded by *Perth Lieutenant-General*; the Left composed of the *Camerons*, *Stuarts of Appin*, one Body of the *MacGregors*, with *Glencairneg*, (the rest being with Major *James Drummond*) under *Lord George Murray*. Their 2d Line, made up of the *Athole-Men*, *Robertsons*, *MacLauchlans*, &c. under *Lord Nairn*. The few Horses which they had, about 100, and these very unfit for Action, stood as a Body of Reserve. The first Line crawled upon their Knees, like Hunters in Quest of their Prey. Some of the Centries saw them; but whether they believed them to be a Hedge appearing by Means of the Dawn, or if they were prohibited to fire on any Account, as they gave out, or if afraid to discharge, sure the Rebels advanced, and came up in the Form of a Wedge towards the Artillery, which, being ill guarded, upon the firing of two Shots, soon fell into their Hands. It was at this Time the Body of the Army had the first general Notice of them. The *Highlanders*, in a declining Posture, covering their Heads and Breasts with their Targets, marched furiously up to the first Line, where they gave a loud *Huzza*. They received some Platoons, which some of the Soldiers, without Orders, discharged for their own Safety ; then, firing full in the Face of the Troops, they threw away their Firelocks, rushed upon the raw Men with Sword and Pistol, and made a dreadful Havock. At the Moment they raised the Shout, the young Horses on the Wings, viz. *Gairdner's* on the Right, and

Hamilton's on the Left, affrighted with the Noise in the Morning, fell a capering, fled off all at once, and disordred the Foot ; yea, some of them, when their Riders were dismounted, ran through the Enemy towards Dunbar, whither Fowkes and Lascelles retreated. The Rebels pursued very irregularly, firing Pistols at them. Some Officers, Fowkes, Lowdoun and Lascelles, endeavoured to rally some of the Foot, and give the Enemy a Fire while in this Confusion, which had they done, the Misfortune might have been remedied ; but as the second Line advanced it was deferred. The Dragoons halted half a Mile from the Field, and drew up ; and could Cope have thought of returning upon the Clans, now in Disorder, he might have regained the Advantage, for the Foot had not yet surrendered : But as this either did not occur at the Time, or was judged impracticable, the Earls of Hume and Lowdoun retired with them by the Way of Channel-Kirk, where they first stopt, with about 15 or 16 of the Foot that followed their Rout, to Lauder, from thence the next Day to Berwick, whither Sir John Cope likeways went. The Infantry in the first Line was miserably massacred by the Rebels. Such as threw down their Arms, and begged for Quarters upon their Knees, were cut inhumanly ; yea such as fled into the Inclosures were pursued and murdered, but the great Carnage was at the Grange Park-Dyke, which when the poor Men were climbing, they were slaughtered in the most barbarous Manner ; twenty were killed by the Sword, for one who fell by a Bullet. At last the Slaughter was stopt by Perth and Lochziel.

In this Battle were slain, on the Side of the King's Troops, 360, among whom the brave Colonel James Gairdner, (a Gentleman, who, in the Heat of Youth, had been turned, from the most licentious Dissoluteness, to the Piety, Strictness and Wisdom of the grayest Hairs, universally lamented, especially as he was against all the Motions that brought on this fatal Scene) Captain Stuart of Phisgil, of Lascelles's Regiment, Captains Brymer and Rogers of Lees's, Howel of Guise's, Bishop and Ensign Forbes of Murray's. About 500 were wounded, and the rest mostly taken Prisoners, with 83 Officers, several of whom were wounded, as the gallant Lieutenant-Colonel Whitney, and Major Bowles of Hamilton's Dragoons, who, after he had fallen, with his Horse which was one of the Six that were killed upon the Field, was desperately hacked by the Boys who followed the Rebels. This was the Fate of as many

many as fell, but particularly of *Gairdner*, and the Master of *Torphichen*, a Gentleman of great Merit. The private Mens Heads were almost cut through ; the greater Number were cut in the back Parts ; some had 7 or 8 Wounds ; Noses, Hands, Arms, Legs, &c. were promiscuously to be seen in some Places of the Field. The Dragoons scarcely lost 50, between killed, wounded and Prisoners. On the Side of the Rebels were killed 2 Captains, one Lieutenant, and one Ensign, and about 40 private Men ; they had 80 wounded, and *Rob Roy MacGregor's* Son, who then went under the Name of Captain *James Drummond*. All the Cannon, (*viz.* 6 Pieces) two Coehorns, all the Tents, Baggage, Equipage, &c. fell into the Hands of the Rebels, who seized also the Military Chest, consisting of 4000 L. *Cope* having secured the rest, partly in the *Fox* Man of War, *Haddingtoun*, and elsewhere, which was the only prudent Action of that Officer during his inglorious Campaign. The *Highlanders* robbed some Officers both of their Money and Watches ; their Servants were not spared, and some Country Gentlemen, who were not in Arms, were treated in the same Way. I having surveyed the Field, where were broken Guns, Halberts, Pikes, &c. before the Dead were stript, had Occasion to ask the wounded Men, what was become of *Cope*? All, but especially the *English* Soldiers, spoke most disrespectfully and bitterly of him. After this I went to the Road-Side, where the *Chevalier*, who by Advice of *Perth*, &c. had sent to *Edinburgh* for Surgeons, was standing. He was clad as an ordinary Captain, in a coarse Plaid and blue Bonnet, his Boots and Knees were much fouled ; he seemed to have fallen into a Ditch, which I was told by one of his Lifeguards he had ; he was exceeding merry. Speaking of his Army, he said twice, ‘*My Highlandmen have lost their Plaids.*’ At which he laughed very heartily. When talking of the Dead and Wounded, he was noway affected, there were seven Standards taken, which when he saw, he said in *French*, a Language he frequently spoke in, *We have missed some of them* ; which was the only Interruption of his Jollity. Thereafter he refreshed himself upon the Field, and with the utmost Composure eat a Piece of cold Beef, and drank a Glass of Wine, amidst the deep and piercing Groans of the mangled Patriots, who had fallen a Sacrifice to his foolish Ambition. Next Day the poor Men were brought into *Edinburgh* upon Carts ; some were put into the Infirmary, others

begged

begged through the high Streets, and were generously supplied by the Inhabitants ; but no Charity was bestowed by the Rebels, so great was their Hatred to a red Coat.

Such was the Success of this Battle of *Preston*, in which the Rebels gave out, that, with 1456 Highland Foot, without Artillery or Horse, they had conquered a regular Army of 4000 Foot and Horse, besides Volunteers, &c. supported with Cannon, and almost entrenched. But whoever considers the Matter, will find the Boast was groundless ; for when *Cope* marched to the North, he had only about 1624 Foot, and at *Preston* it is not to be supposed he had more ; of these there were 466 out on Parties, viz. 100 with the Artillery, 230 with the Baggage, 70 at Colonel *Gairdner's* House, and 66 watching at the upper Park-Dyke next to the Enemy ; there were likeways 118 Dragoons out in the same Manner. If this is adverted to, and that young Horses, when fired upon in the Morning, generally reel, it will be found that 1456, (tho' I greatly doubt the Number was so small) choice Highland Desperadoes, some of whom had been in foreign Armies, did no more than surprise about 1158 raw Foot, who were more incommoded by their own Horse, than by their Enemies. I would not here be understood to detract from the Bravery of the Clans, (a Virtue which they carry to such an Extreme, that it degenerates into Madness) but only observe, that being bred up in the Way of Fighting with broad Sword and Target, as well as in the Sentiments of the superior Advantage of these Weapons over the Musket and Bayonet, they are scarce to be disciplined, even by a *Marlborough*, into another Manner. The Arms of the Troops were reserved for Recruits by the Rebels ; the Clothes and Linnens of the Officers and Soldiers were given to Men, some of whom scarce had a Shirt all their Lives. Colonel *Gairdner's* House was rifled of every Thing that was valuable, which had not been carried off before. Some People about *Tranent* and *Preston* were stript, by the Conquerors, of their Body-Clothes, Shoes, Buckles, &c. Had the young Pretender marched to *England*, it is hardly to be supposed but *Cope* would have carried the Confusion even to *London*. There were few Forces in the Kingdom then, and these but new-raised Men. However, his Counsels were infatuated, and by his Conduct he must destroy himself. The Prisoners were sent to *Edinburgh*, and confined in the Church and Tolbooth of *Canongate*, where they continued till the 29th, when they were transported

transported to *Lerie-Rate* in Athole; and their Officers, who had been liberated upon Parole, and obliged daily to present themselves, were conducted to *Perth*. After the Battle the *Chevalier* sent off Mr. *Kello* to *France*. He rode Post to *Dover*, where he embarked for *Dunkirk*, and sent off some Vessels with Artillery, Arms, Ammunition and Money to *Scotland*; from thence he went to *Paris*, and laid before the *French Court* the State of his Master's Affairs; magnified the glorious Victory at *Preston* to C. *Tencin*, and the other Officers of State. Then did the *Chevalier's* Connection with *France*, which was conjectured at first, tho' hardly disowned by him, appear fully in the Execution of their Contrivance of the Rebellion. The Adventurer must have *French Soldiers*, *French Officers*, *French Arms*, yea, a *French Fleet* was ready to sail, in order to annul our wholsom Laws since the Revolution, destroy our Trade, subject us to the Bigotry and Tyranny of him, who claims the Crown in Consequence of his pretended Descent from a Race of Princes, who were as severe upon the Protestants, as any of the *Roman Emperors* were upon the first Christians; and, to crown all, reduce the *British Nation*, to the wretched and despicable State of a *French Province*.

The Pretender, the Night after the Battle, caused intimate to the Ministers of *Edinburgh*, that they were allowed to preach as usual, but not to name King *George*; however, these had resolved, in a previous Meeting, not to exercise that Part of their Office under his Protection, being determined to keep at a Distance from the Practice of a Nonjurant-Clergy, (who conveened as usual) by openly testifying their Loyalty to their excellent King, with whose royal Countenance and Protection they were favoured on all Occasions; a late Instance whereof the had, in his gracious Condescension to signify his Pleasure to his Parliament, of promoting the pious Scheme of providing for the Widows and Children of the Ministers of the Church of *Scotland*. The Ministers of the *West-Kirk*, Mr. *MacVicar* and Mr. *Pitcairn*, both great Gospel-Ministers, preached as usual, prayed for King *George*, warmly recommended Loyalty to their Hearers, and, what was remarkable, they were more than ordinarily assisted in their Work.

On Monday, the 23d, three Proclamations were issued out, the first granting Protection to all Farmers within five Miles of *Edinburgh*, upon their enacting themselves, in the Secretary's Office, to be ready, on twelve Hours Warning, to furnish

furnish their Horses for carrying the Baggage of the Rebels to *Berwick upon Tweed*, or the like Distance. Another forbidding any outward Demonstrations of publick Joy on account of the late Victory, as it had involved many innocent People in great Calamity, and had been obtained by the Effusion of the Blood of his Majesty's Subjects, admonishing all true Friends to their King and Country, to return Thanks to God for his Goodness towards them, as he, the Pretender, did for himself; and concludes with a Declaration of his Protection to those concerned in publick Worship. A Third forbidding Abuses by his Army. Next Day the following Indemnity was proclaimed.

**CHARLES Prince of Wales, Regent of Scotland, England,
France and Ireland, and the Dominions thereunto belonging,**

WHEREAS we are informed, That several of Our Subjects, as well Clergy as Laity, in Our ancient City of *Edinburgh*, and Neighbourhood thereof, did associate and take up Arms against us ; and that many of them fled from their Houses, lest they had been prosecuted, and made Examples of, as their Crimes demerited.

And whereas we have nothing at Heart but the Good of all Our Subjects, how much soever deluded by the Prejudice of Education or mistaken Interest ; and being always disposed, as a true Father of our Country, to display that Mercy and Tenderness natural to Us, and the distinguishing Characte~~tic~~stick of our Family.

We do therefore, in his Majesty's Name, hereby grant a full Pardon to the Persons associated as aforesaid, for all Treasons, Rebellions, and Offences whatsoever, committed by them at any Time before the Publication of these Presents, whether against Our Royal Grandfather of blessed Memory, his present Majesty, or Ourselves, dispensing with the Generality hereof, and admitting the same to be as effectual, to all Intents and Purposes, as if all their Names had been herein set down. PROVIDED always, That the Persons aforesaid present themselves within twenty four Days after the Publication hereof, to our trusty and beloved Counsellor *John Murray of Broughtoun Esq*; Our Secretary, or any one of Our Council appointed for that Purpose, at our Palace of *Holyroodhouse*, or where else We shall be for the Time, with a Declaration

ration that they shall live for the future as quiet and peaceable Subjects to Us and Our Government, otherways these Presents to be of no Effect to them. Given at Our Palace of *Holyroodhouse*, the twenty fourth Day of September, and of his Majesty's Reign the forty fifth Year, 1745.

CHARLES P. R.

By his Highness's Command, Jo. Murray.

From this it is observable, that the Pretender was very short-sighted ; for, beside the flagrant Contradictions of his other Papers, it argues a desperate Spirit, to think Ministers of the Gospel were guilty of Treason and Rebellion, for standing up in Defence of that Government under which most of them were born, and thereafter sworn to. More might be said, but I do not love to load the Unfortunate. This Paper met with its suitable Reception ; for, of all the Volunteers who rose in Support of the City, there were but two or three who complied with the extravagant and unprecedented Demand. On the 25th, Protection was proffered to the Banks, if they would return from the Castle to their former Business ; but this insidious Promise was disregarded likeways. There were also Proclamations for preventing Thefts and Robberies ; these had but little Effect upon Rebels who did not understand them ; for, under Pretext of searching for Arms, they would rifle Peoples Houses, and carry off what was valuable. On the 30th, every Person possell of Arms, Tents, Horses, warlike Stores, taken at *Prestoun*, were required to return the same under Pain of Military Execution. That same Day the Magistrates of all Burghs in *Scotland*, the Collectors of the Land-Tax in all the Shires, the Collectors and Comptrollers of Customs, were ordred, by circular Letters, to repair to the Palace of *Holyroodhouse*, to have the Sums to be paid by the respective Towns ascertained, and to bring in their Books, and what Money they were due, upon Pain of Treason, Rebellion, and Military Execution. Few obeyed, but left the Kingdom, or else repaired to the Castle ; however, the Rebels, under Colour of seeking for the Cess, did the greatest Violence to Justice.

The Goods in the Custom-House of *Leith* were sold for the Use of the young *Chevalier*.

Several Demands were made upon Towns in the Country,

try, and upon *Glasgow* no less than 10,000 L. but the Sum was compromised for 5500.

Thus they raged without Controul, till the 25th, that some Cannon were discharged at them, as they were observed to make too near Approaches to the Castle, and to hinder People from going to it. On the 29th, all Communication between the Castle and City was stopt; whereupon General *Guest*, then Commander of the Forces in *Scotland*, who had repaired to that Fort, wrote to Provost *Stewart*, That since the Passage to and from the Castle was shut up, he would make Use of Cannon to dislodge the *Highland Guards*, he having got Orders from Court to keep the Avenues clear. The Letter was sent by some Deputies to the *Chevalier*, who immediately gave them an Answer in Writing, wherein he speaks of the present illustrious King, (who, abstracting from his legal Right, has, according to *Voltaire*, the best Title to govern, viz. the Choice of his Subjects) in a Manner neither suitable to his Majesty, or to one who assumed the Name he himself did. And, after aggravating the Barbarity of the Orders, upon which he put the worst Construction, he declared he would make full Reprisals upon the Estates of those who were Abettors of the *German Government*.

The Inhabitants began now to think of their Safety; their Families and best Effects were removed, leaving their Lodgings, some of which might accommodate the greatest Princes in *Europe*, to the Rebels, who turned them from Palaces into Stables. The *Parliament-Close*, that Ornament of *Britain*, the stately Fabrick of the Church, were become Dens of Thieves. The Deputies reported the Pretender's Answer to the two Generals, *Preston* and *Guest*, who, in Compassion to the City, gave a Respite for Six Days, till the Return of an Express from Court. People would have thought the *Chevalier* would have desisted also; but, on the contrary, he went *Incognito*, by Help of the Night, to the *Castle-Hill*, and gave Directions for fixing a Battery against the Fort. *Lochziel* undertook the Siege from that Place, while some hot-headed People, who had joined at *Edinburgh*, were to entrench themselves at *Livingston's Yards*, to the South-West of the Garrison, within Reach of her great Guns: So from the 2d, that Orders were given from the *Chevalier*, forbidding Communication, upon pain of Death, between the Castle and the Town, there was a Blockade of both, till the 5th, that the

King's Letter came, ordering to spare the City, but to keep the Passes open, till the Relief, which was hastning, should arrive. As the Rebels were at *Holyroodhouse*, the Packet fell into their Hands, and, to be before the Generals, a Proclamation is issued out, setting forth, That the Pretender, in Consideration of the many Murders committed on the innocent Inhabitants, and of the Duty of Justice to give Place to Mercy, when the Good of a People required, took off the Blockade of the Castle. The Infatuation of the Rebels can scarce be paralleled ; they had not fixed a single Cannon, yea, they had no Battering Pieces. As they possest themselves of an old ruinous House on the North-Side of the *Castle-Hill*, next to the Fort, they were dislodged soon from thence by the great Guns ; afterwards Fire was set to their Place of Resort, viz. on the 4th ; it burnt with great Violence, but the Flames did not catch hold of the adjacent Buildings ; the Bell-House shared the same Fate, in which *Lochziel* taking up his Quarters, was hurt by the Fall of a Stone upon his Shoulder ; 3 Men and a Serjeant fallied out upon *Livingston*'s Yeards, killed 3 Men, wounded 2, brought off the Captain and 7 Prisoners, after setting Fire to the Habitation to which they betook themselves ; the unhappy People were buried in the very Trench they had digged. Such was the Tenderness of the Garrison, that, tho' frequent Shots were discharged, yet these were so well directed, that none of the Town's People suffered during this Blockade, except two Men who were killed, and one Woman who was wounded. Several of the Rebels were slain, particularly as they were scrambling up the Rock on the North-Side, in the Night-Time ; and upon the *Saturday*, when the Soldiers, under Cover of the great Guns, digged a Trench across the Hill, several were wounded. Thence they fired very briskly, but were answered by the Rebels, whom they drove from their Fastnesses down to *Miln's Court* and the *Weigh-House* ; whence they were dislodged likeways, the Wall thereof being beat down, and about a Dozen of Bullets shot into the Door of it. As the Rebels fled from the Lanes, some Soldiers advanced to them, at which Time two of them were hurt, and retired, which was the only Loss the Garrison sustained. All *Saturday*'s Afternoon there was constant Firing from the Fort. Some of the Bullets grazed on the Streets, particularly one which rebounded and struck through a Shop in the *Lawn-Market*. The Firing ceasing upon the *Sabbath*,

was

was to the Inhabitants like a Calm after an Hurricane, which was a Revival to those who were confined for Fear of meeting an untimely Fate. On the 7th, old *Gordon* of *Glenbucket*, and Lord *Ogilvie*, joined with about 400 Men. As the former had neither Power nor Riches, so he could bring none with him, but People of desperate Fortunes like himself, the latter, as he had Power, so he used it in the most savage Manner, by threatening with Fire and Sword several of those he brought with him. On the 8th, a Proclamation was made, setting forth, how acceptable Money, Arms and Horses, &c. would be to the Pretender, from such as could not personally join him. On the 9th, a Discharge, in the haughtiest Manner, for any of the Lords or Commoners to attend the Meeting of Parliament, &c. but this destructive Order met with a Contempt suitable to its Demerit. And on the 10th the following Declaration was published.

CHARLES Prince of Wales, &c. Regent of the Kingdoms of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, and the Dominions thereunto belonging : Unto all his Majesty's Subjects, of what Degree soever, Greeting.

CHARLES P. R

AS soon as We, conducted by the Providence of GOD, arrived in *Scotland*, and were joined by a Handful of Our Royal Father's Subjects, Our first Care was to make publick his most gracious Declaration ; and, in Consequence of the large Powers by him vested in Us, in Quality of Regent, We also emitted Our own *Manifesto*, explaining and enlarging the Promises formerly made, according as We came to be better acquainted with the Inclinations of the People of *Scotland*. Now that it has pleased GOD so far to smile on Our Undertaking, as to make Us Master of the ancient Kingdom of *Scotland*, We judged it proper, in this publick Manner, to make manifest what ought to fill the Hearts of all his Majesty's Subjects, of what Nation or Province soever, with Comfort and Satisfaction.

We therefore hereby, in his Majesty's Name, declare, That his sole Intention is to re-instate all his Subjects in the full Enjoyment of their Religion, Laws, and Liberties ; and that Our present Attempt is not undertaken in order to en-

have

slave a free People, but to redress and remove the Encroachments made upon them; not to impose upon any a Religion which they dislike, but to secure them all the Enjoyment of those which are respectively at present established among them, either in *England, Scotland or Ireland*; and if it shall be deemed proper that any farther Security be given to the established Church or Clergy We hereby promise, in his Name, That he shall pass any Law that his Parliament shall judge necessary for that Purpose.

In consequence of the Rectitude of Our Royal Father's Intentions, We must farther declare his Sentiments with regard to the National Debt: That it has been contracted under an unlawful Government, Nobody can disown, no more than that it is now a most heavy Load upon the Nation; yet, in regard that it is for the greatest Part due to those very Subjects whom He promises to protect, cherish and defend, He is resolved to take the Advice of His Parliament concerning it, in which He thinks He acts the Part of a just Prince, who makes the Good of His People the sole Rule of His Actions.

Furthermore, We here in his Name declare, That the same Rule laid down for the Funds, shall be followed with respect to every Law or Act of Parliament since the Revolution; and, in so far as, in a free and legal Parliament, they shall be approved, He will confirm them. With respect to the pretended Union of the two Nations, the King cannot possibly ratify it, since He has had repeated Remonstrances against it from each Kingdom; and since is is incontestable, that the principal Point then in View, was the Exclusion of the Royal Family from their undoubted Right to the Crown, for which Purpose the grossest Corruptions were openly used to bring it about. But whatever may be hereafter devised for the joint Benefit of both Nations, the King will most readily comply with the Request of His Parliaments to establish.

And now that We have, in His Majesty's Name, given you the most ample Security for your Religion, Properties and Laws, that the Power of a *British* Sovereign can grant; We hereby for Ourselves, as Heir apparent to the Crown, ratify and confirm the same in Our own Name, before Almighty GOD, upon the Faith of a Christian, and the Honour of a Prince.

Let me now expostulate this weighty Matter with you, my Father's Subjects, and let me not omit this first publick Opportunity

portunity of awakning your Understandings, and of dispelling that Cloud, which the assiduous Pens of ill-designing Men have all along, but chiefly now, been endeavouring to cast on the Truth.. Do not the Pulpits and Congregrations of the Clergy, as well as your weekly Papers, ring with the dreadful Threats of Popery, Slavery, Tyranny and arbitrary Power, which are now ready to be imposed upon you, by the formidable Powers of *France* and *Spain*? Is not my royal Father represented as a Blood-thirsty Tyrant, breathing out nothing but Destruction to all those who will not immediately embrace an odious Religion? Or, have I myself been better used? But listen only to the naked Truth.

I, with my own Money, hired a small Vessel, ill provided with Money, Arms or Friends; I arrived in *Scotland*, attended by seven Persons; I publish the King my Father's Declaration, and proclaim his Title, with Pardon in one Hand, and in the other Liberty of Conscience, and the most solemn Promises to grant whatever a free Parliament shall propose for the Happiness of a People. I have, I confess, the greatest Regard to adore the Goodness of Almighty GOD, who has, in so remarkable a Manner, protected me and my small Army through the many Dangers to which we were at first exposed; and who has led me in the Way to Victory, and to the Capital of this ancient Kingdom, amidst the Acclamations of the King my Father's Subjects: Why then is so much Pains taken to spirit up the Minds of the People against this my Undertaking.

The Reason is obvious, it is, lest the real Sense of the Nation's present Sufferings should blot out the Remembrance of past Misfortunes, and of the Outcries formerly raised against the Royal Family. Whatever Miscarriages might have given Occasion to them, they have been more than atoned for since; and the Nation has now an Opportunity of being secured against the like for the future.

That Our Family has suffered Exile during these Fifty seven Years, every Body knows. Has the Nation, during that Period of Time, been the more happy and flourishing for it? Have you found Reason to love and cherish your Governors, as the Fathers of the People of *Great-Britain* and *Ireland*? Has a Family, upon whom a Faction unlawfully bestowed the Diadem of a rightful Prince, retained a due Sense of so great a Trust and Favour? Have you found more Humanity and Condescen-

Condescension in those who were not born to a Crown, than in my Royal Forefathers ? Have their Ears been open to the Cries of the People ? Have they, or do they consider only the Interest of these Nations ? Have you reaped any other Benefit from them, than an immense Load of Debts ? If I am answered in the Affirmative, Why has their Government been so often railed at in all your publick Assemblies ? Why has the Nation been so long crying out in vain for Redrefs against the Abuses of Parliaments, upon account of their long Duration, the Multitude of *Place-Men*, which occasions their Venality, the Introduction of penal Laws, and, in general, against the miserable Situation of the Kingdom at Home and Abroad ? All these, and many more Inconveniencies must now be removed, unless the People of *Great-Britain* be already so far corrupted, that they will not accept of Freedom when offered to them ; seeing the King, on his Restoration, will refuse nothing that a free Parliament can ask, for the Security of the Religion, Laws and Liberty of his People.

The Fears of the Nation from the Powers of *France* and *Spain*, appear still more vain and groundless. My Expedition was undertaken unsupported by either : But indeed, when I see a foreign Force brought by my Enemies against me, and when I hear of *Dutch*, *Danes*, *Hessians*, and *Swiss*, the Elector of *Hanover's* Allies, being called over to protect his Government against the King's Subjects, Is it not high Time for the King my Father to accept also of the Assistance of those who are able, and who have engaged to support him ? But will the World, or any one Man of Sense in it, infer from thence, that he inclines to be a tributary Prince, rather than an independent Monarch ? Who has the better Chance to be independent on Foreign Powers ? He, who with the Aid of his own Subjects, can wrest the Government out of the Hands of an Intruder : Or he, who cannot, without Assistance from abroad, support his Government, tho' established by all the Civil Power, and secured by a strong Military Force, against the undisciplined Part of those he has ruled over so many Years ? Let him, if he pleases, try the Experiment, let him send off his foreign Hirelings, and put the whole upon the Issue of a Battle ; I will trust only to the King my Father's Subjects, who were or shall be engaged in mine and their Country's Cause : But, notwithstanding all the Opposition he can make, I still trust in the Justice of my Cause, the V-

lour of my Troops, and the Assistance of the Almighty, to bring my Enterprize to a glorious Issue.

It is now Time to conclude, and I shall do it with this Reflection. Civil Wars are ever attended with Rancour and ill Will, which Party-Rage never fails to produce in the Minds of those, whom different Interests, Principles or Views, set in Opposition to one another ; I therefore earnestly require it of my Friends, to give as little Loose as possible to such Passions ; this will prove the most effectual Means to prevent the same in the Enemies of our Royal Cause. And this my Declaration will vindicate to all Posterity the Nobleness of my Undertaking, and the Generosity of my Intentions.

Given at our Palace of *Holyroodhouse*, the tenth day of *Oc-*
tobr, One thousand seven hundred and forty five.

C. P. R.

By his Highness's Command, J. Murray.

This Declaration was looked upon as a Master-Piece by the Party : But, alas, it is worse than the former, whether one reflects upon the Contradictions it contains, the insidious destructive Promises it is made up of, the Tyranny which it breathes, or Ignorance of the State of the Nation it discovers. I shall only observe, (since the Paper has been handsomly answered by the *Occasional Writer*) that, by the Inclinations of the People, he perhaps means the two Generals, *Guest* and *Preston*, who did not open the Gates of the Castle when *Lochziel* appeared before it. The former Commander was a Father to the Soldiers, Prudence was even printed in his Face ; the latter was an excellent General, related to the best Families in *Fife*, and bore in a ripe old Age the Virtues of a brave and ancient Family ; no Promises or Threats could prevail upon him to violate his Allegiance. 2d. As to his Question, *Who has the best Chance to be independent on foreign Powers ?* He who, with the Aid of his own Subjects, &c. Who are his Subjects ? The *MacDonalds* of *Keppoch* and *Glenco*, the *MacGregors*, *Camerons*, &c. People inured to Plunder and Murder. Whom had he of the *English* Nation, or whom of the best Part of the *Scots* ? Indeed some Desperadoes joined his Standard when set up, and some Noblemen, dazzled with the glittering Appearance, embarked in the Scheme. But what Proportion did those few bear to the numerous Inhabitants of *Britain* and *Ireland* ? 3d. King *George* being

being then at War with *France* and *Spain*, could not send such a Number directly as could defeat his Project ; nor are the *Scots* Militia any Way to be compared to what formerly they were, when they frequently defeated the *Highlanders* ; for now the Country is civilized ; instead of being Soldiers, the People are Merchants and Traders, and, by the very Customs paid from their Labour this Way, they can employ a sufficient Army to protect them against Commotions from within, and Irruptions from without. 4to. As to his Majesty's Hirelings ; the *Danes* are actually the Allies of *Great-Britain*, the Advantages of which Alliance more than compensate the Payment of the Troops that Crown lets out to us. 5to. The *Dutch* find the great Loss of employing their Natives to the Sword ; they have an excellent Fishery, and, by their laborious Industry, derive Treasures from these very Coasts upon which some *British* Rebels live. The close Connection betwixt *Britain* and the States is an excellent Mean of enriching both. 6to. As to the *Hessians* and *Swiss*, whether is it better to give Bread to a few of these, who live at a Distance from the Sea, in Consideration of the great Advantage *Britain* reaps from importing the *East-India* Goods to the Empire, or suffer those of *Britain*, who, by their Situation, may enrich themselves by the Ocean, to be seduced to the miserable State of flying to a Drum for a Scrimp Subsistence ? In Time they might, like the *MacDonalds*, become an inexhaustible Source of Recruits for *France* herself. 7mo. But has he not got what he wanted ? Who but the Forces of *Britain* were with our King's Son when he defeated him ? Whereas, in the Rebel Army there were *French*, and *Irish* in *French* Pay, notwithstanding he denies they were his Allies ; and, in the next Sentence, declares they are engaged and are willing to assist him. 8vo. Who calls his Father a Blood-thirsty Tyrant, &c ? None. I am confident I heard the Ministers of the Church of *Scotland* oftner than the Pretender, and I saw some very elaborate Sermons of the learned Bishops of *Oxford* and *York*, and can defy any Man to condescend upon the least personal Reflection. The Mischiefs of Popery and Slavery they do indeed set forth in the most pathetick Terms. Who calls his supposed Grandfather a Tyrant ? His Conduct in *England*, his Letters to the Parliament and Privy-Council of *Scotland*. One cannot but be sorry that either the Pretender or his Council should expose themselves to the Ridicule of every thinking

thinking Person ; the Powers Abroad cannot shun to ob-serve his Weakness.

On the 13th he was joined by the old Laird of *MacKinnon*, a Gentleman of little Fortune, and under him about 100 Men ; this Clan have been frequently in Rebellions, which is the only Thing that makes their Names to be heard of. One *Boyer*, the French Ambassador landed at *Stonehive*, came to his Camp on the 14th, with Dispatches of Importance from his Brother, and Assurance of Assistance from the French King. On the 15th, all Sheriffs, Stewards, Bailies, Chamberlains, Vassals, &c. were ordered, under Pain of Rebellion, to transmit just Accompts of their Intromissions with the forfeited Estates. On the 16th, one *Monro*, and another, upon Conviction of *Robbery*, were shot. Lord *Eloch* raised a Regiment of Life-Guards, who were clad in Blue with Red Facings ; such as had no Character to lose listed in it ; their Pay was but small ; for tho' the private Men received 6 d^s per diem, yet the Officers were only paid the fourth Part, the Arrears being put to the Charge of the Government, when the Peace of the Kingdom should be restored ; some Soldiers Prisoners likewise listed with them, but, as they did this only for present Subsistence, so they embraced the first Opportunity of deserting that Cause.

He was joined by *Forbes* Lord *Pitfligo*, who brought with him a Troop of about 100 Horse, and by the Earl of *Kilmarnock*. The true Clan *Catti*, viz. the *MacPhersons*, augmented his Troops ; these were the last who came to him from the North, where a Storm was gathering against him ; for the Lord *Lowdoun* had repaired to *Inverness* upon the 11th of October, to take upon him the Command of the 20 independent Companies of the well-affected Clans, which the Lord President of the Session was empowered, by a Warrant signed at *Whitehall* the 30th *August* 1745. to raise for the Government's Service. And here it will be proper to give a short Sketch of these People whereof they were to be composed.

And, *imo.* all to the North of *Fort-Augustus*, who speak the *Irish* Language, I call the *Northern*, those to the South, the *Western Clans*. The former are as poor, in as blind and abject Slavery to their Chieftains, as the latter, and in these Things they only agree ; they generally hate each other, but if in a foreign Country, the speaking *Irish* would make them

Friends. The Dialect of their Language as much differs, as the Way of speaking in the City of Edinburgh, from that in the remotest Parts. The Northern are not so quick or ingenious as the Western ; the former have not obliged the learned World much, whereas the latter have produced a *Buchanan* (in *Irisb*, *Clan Cannanich*) a divine Poet and judicious Historian ; a *David* and a *James Gregory*, and at last a *MacLaurin* ; each of whom have published Works co-eval with the Sun. Of the former sometimes great Men appeared in the Field, but such as were raised proved seldom an Honour to their Country ; the latter brought forth Men of a martial Genius, but, alas ! their Talents were misapplied.

+ The Northern Clans then consist of the *MacKenzies*, *Sutherlands*, *MacKays*, *Gunns*, *Mathisons*, *MacLeods*, *Monroes* and *Grants*, for I do not speak of those in the Rebellion. In general they are either from an *Irisb* or a *German* Descent. The *MacKenzies* are sprung of one *Kenneth*, who for his good Services, anno 1263. in defeating the *Danes*, had the Lands of *Kintail* assigned him ; his Posterity are called *MacKenneth*, (i e. *Kenneth's Son*) and now *MacKenzie*. That Name soon raised itself upon the Ruin of the *Banes*, *Dingwals*, *Urquharts* and *MacLeods* of the *Lewis* ; they seldom produced great Men ; the Persons they mostly boast of are the three *George MacKenzies* ; the Advocate, of whom Bishop *Burnet* says, ‘ He was a Man of much Life and Wit, but neither correct or equal in it. He has wrote many Books, some of Law, but all full of Faults ; for he was a slight superficial Man.’ The other, *George Earl of Cromartie*, and Doctor *George* in *Chanory*, each of whose Writings tend more to mislead than instruct ; and besides, some Subjects which they trace are not worth the Pains. At present there are many Families of this Name, in the North *Highlands*, virtuously inclined, tho’ their Ancestors have been remarkable only for Cruelty, when it was in their Power, as in the Year 1645. when *Seaforth* was excommunicated for his Barbarity, and in the 1715 and 1719. when they rose against King *George*. As to the *MacLeods*, they are as ancient as any Clan in the Isles. There were two Families of this Name, that of *Lewis* and *Harris* ; the latter as yet exists, but the former was forfeited for Rebellion against *James VI.* who gave their Lands to some *Fyfe* Gentlemen. These went to take Possession, but, being set upon by them and the *MacKenzies*, they were miserably

rably slaughtered, and the Family wanting a male Heir, Seaforth's Second Son, the Progenitor of the Earl of Cromartie, married the Heiress, and from thence is called Lord MacLeod. The MacLeods are very pleasant People, and as loyal as any of the Clans ; they have never appeared in Arms against this Government, which may be attributed to this Account, viz, in the 1651. at Worcester, they were almost intirely cut off, whereupon they resolved not to rise again.

As to the People of Sutherland, *imo.* The Gunns, a Clan whose Chieftain has no Property, are of a Danish Extract. They never made a Figure, either in their own or any other Country ; of the Mathisons the same may be said. The MacKays are indeed of a nobler Race, being the same with the Forbeses, descended of an Irish Nobleman, who about the Year 1300 came into Scotland, and had two Sons ; the younger of whom, by a Marriage, procured the Lands of Strathie : From his great Grandson, *Y More*, (*i. e.* great) the Name doth come ; they were instrumental in suppressing the Duffs, to whom Strathnavern belonged. For these having a Quarrel with the Murrays, brought 1000 Men to the Field against them ; the Armies engaged ; of the former, after an obstinate Battle, there remained 7, of the latter 12, desperately wounded. As their Misfortune rendred their Lands almost desolate, so the MacKays were possessed of them. In 1626. one of the Family went to Germany, and behaved well. Anno 1628. he was created a Peer of Scotland, and was a Colonel in the Swedish Wars ; but his accusing the Marquis of Hamilton of aspiring at the Crown of Scotland, and laying the Blame upon Ramsay Lord Dalhousie, must leave an Odium upon his Memory. The worthy General MacKay (tho' by his Rashness he lost the Battle of Killicranky) has a Claim to be inserted in the Annals of his Country.

As to the Sutherlands, they are the same with the Catti, who came to Scotland in the Days of Cobredus II. anno 76, but they of that Shire are much degenerated from the Bravery of their Ancestors, and far from equalling that of the MacPhersons, who are of the same Stock : The Sutherland Militia, especially those who live upon the Coast, are among the very Refuse of the Highland Counties ; they are as subject to their Lairds, (some of whom are scarce worth 300 Merks per annum, the richest not 2000) as Negroes to their Masters. It is notorious what Numbers of Slaves were sent off to the

Plantations,

Plantations, by *MacKay of Scouray* and Company, in the Years 1728 and 1729. when neither the Cries of Widows or Orphans could prevail upon them. In short, those People are as poor, their Tempers as barbarous and inhuman as cruel and revengeful, as those of the worst of the Rebels, but less active, more stupid, and not at all given to that outward Civility, which the latter, by a natural Air peculiar to themselves, affect to shew to Strangers who come among them. The Natives feed very coarsely, and are much given to *Witchcraft* and *Charms*. The Earls of *Sutherland* are certainly as ancient as any in *Scotland*, but few of them have made a Figure in the Cabinet or Field, other than by their Power over a Country where their Words are decisive. Their Charter of Earl is as old as 1061. when *Malcom Canmore* created the Son of *Allan Thane of Sutherland*, who had been beheaded by *MacBeth*, Earl, in Consideration of the faithful Services he did. *William Earl of Sutherland* was married to *Margaret*, 2d Daughter to *Robert Bruce* by a second Marriage. The Family, after the Interruption of the male Line, anno 1514. was called *Gordon*, and several of that Name are now in *Sutherland*; but some time after they took up their former Surname. In the Year 1616. they espoused the Protestant Cause, and have continued Friends to the Government, which is greatly their Interest. Of the *Monroes* I shall afterwards treat.

As to the *Grants*, there is a Dispute whether they be of a *Danish*, *Irish*, or *English* Extract. I am apt to believe they are *Irish*, being called in the Year 1314. the *Irish Scots*. As far back as 1258. one *Grant* was Sheriff of *Inverness*, and afterwards came to take Possession of the Lands of *Strathspey*, which belonged to the *Cummings*. And here it will not be improper to set in a true Light what was misrepresented of that great Name, both to vindicate them from the Imputation of Treachery, a Thing never mentioned by the *English* Historians, and the Hero who is generally supposed to be their Destroyer, and to have done such Things against them, as, I perswade myself, was he alive, he would be ashamed of. Then I take the Story to be this.

In the Days of K. *David I.* *John Cumming*, for signal Services to the Crown, obtained several Honours and Lands; after which the Loyalty and worthy Behaviour of the Name procured the Countenance of *William*, and *Malcom Canmore*, who augmented their Titles. In the Year 1220. they suppres-

sed one of the most dangerous Rebellions that ever happened in Scotland. They brought to the King the Head of Gillespick, i. e. Archibald MacDonald, who murdered all that would not swear Allegiance to him; and, in 1263. when a Rebellion broke out in England, Cumming Lord Badenoch, and Bruce, were, at the Desire of the English Monarch, sent with 5000 Men to his Assistance. The former Lord was highly regaled by that Prince, fought a Battle, and was taken Prisoner with the King and his Sons. He, and such as were with him, seeing the generous Openness of the English, communicated to their Posterity the Advantages of a federal Union with that Kingdom, which they pushed upon the Dispute about the Succession betwixt Balliol and Bruce. Certain it is Balliol was the Heir, for he was Great-Grandson to the elder Daughter of David Earl of Huntington; Bruce was Grandson to the second. Sir John Cumming being married to Balliol's Queen's Sister, as well as being his Cousin-german, assisted his Claim. At Falkirk, Cumbernauld foreseeing the Weakness of the Scots to oppose the English, wisely founded a Retreat, while Steuart of Bute made a fruitless Attack upon the numerous Forces of the Enemy.

As Bruce came from England, he was incited against him, and meeting him at Dumfries stabbed him. Upon his being crowned he went to the North and prevailed over the Earl of Buchan, who set upon him at Inverury. But it is never to be forgot, that at Roslin, that great Name, anno 1302. commanded by Sir John Cumming Viceroy of Scotland, saved the Nation, by conquering, with 8000, an invading Army of 30000 Men. This Victory, however glorious for the Cummings, was yet fatal to their Posterity; Numbers of them were cut off, so that few but Women and Children were to be found in their Places of Abode. Bruce being in Possession of the Crown, gave a Commission to the MacPhersons to suppress Rebellions; under this Pretence they, with the few Grants who were at Bannockburn, put the Cummings to the Sword, and now possess their Lands. Could it be thought that so generous a Prince as Bruce would have erased so great a Name, in Blood connected with him, for being true to their Cause? Could he be more cruel to them, whose Treachery he only suspected, than to Monteith whose Fraud he actually found out, to the Man's Conviction? Could he forget the Battle of Roslin, or the signal Assistance they gave him even at Bannockburn, when Balliol

was out of the Way? In Fact, I cannot learn there was an actual Forfeiture of them, but judge that the *Catti*, the *Grants*, and some others, abused the Trust reposed in them. For in *Badenoch*, the Residence of Sir *John Cumming* the illustrious Viceroy of Scotland, there is scarce a Man of his Name, and in *Strathspey*, which belonged to him, there are not many; and that the Offspring of some remain may be imputed to *Grant of Freuchy's* forcibly stealing away *Bigla Cumming*, Heiress of *Duthell*; where, after confining her some Time, she was obliged to marry him; by this a greater Extent of Land was added to his former Estate. Certain it is, that at *Inverlochy*, *Ruthven*, *Fort-Augustus*, *Castle-Grant*, *Strathbogie* and *Athole*, the *Cummings* Arms were cut out in Stone, some of which were industriously taken down by the present Owners; and the universal Tradition is, that whatever Orders *Robert Bruce* gave against the *Cummings*, they were executed in the most horrible and barbarous Manner, even in the Night-Time, by the neighbouring Clans, who, without Distinction of Age or Sex, killed and took Possession; yet, supprest as they were, they, like a Diamond, wanted but a Pore to shine through. Witness six Brothers of the small tho' ancient Family of *Relugas*; the famous Mr. *William Cumming*, who was Professor of Humanity, then of Philosophy, in the College of *Edinburgh*, and at last Tutor to the late *Archibald Duke of Argyll*; his three Brothers, Masters *John*, *David* and *Patrick*, Ministers of *Auldearn*, *Edinkillie* and *Ormiston*, each of whom acted a worthy Part in their Station; the youngest, *Dr. Duncan*, a skilful Physician in *Dublin*, and Father to the Poor; he was a great Patron of the Dissenters in *Ireland*, and presented their Petition to the glorious King *William*, by whom he was well received; he kept a Diary of his own Conduct, and still began a new Year with devoting himself and Family to his Creator; and, adopting the true Christian Spirit, gave 300 L. to propagate Christian Knowledge among those Clans who rooted out his Name. The elder Brother died young, and so the Fruits of his solid Judgment did not appear. So much for vindicating the innocent, and commanding the Worthy. Since the Time the *Grants* have had these Lands, they by their vast Possessions have been still considerable. A Laird of *Grant* was one of the Hostages for King *James I.* another of them was sent Ambassador to

France.

France. They were true Revolutioners, and now there are two Gentlemen among them well skilled in the Laws.

There are other Surnames among the Northern Clans, such as *MacIntire*, *MacBain*, *MacPhail*, *MacInnucater*; but as none of these have any landed Interest, I pass them, with this Observation, that the first three seldom change their Names, which the latter sometimes do, into *Rose* and *MacKenzie*, and that these Turn-Coats, when advanced, prove the very Peats of the Society of which they are Members. They affect a Profession of Religion, under the Mask of which they commit the blackest Villanies, and with an unrelenting Revenge pursue a Stranger, at the Expence of Truth, Gratitude, and every Thing binding upon Mankind.

Of these Men the Lord *Lowdoun* and the President soon excited about 2000 to join in Defence of the Government, having prevailed upon their Cheiftains to come into their Views. It was now the Pretender might observe the Spirit of the People breathing forth in the loyal Addresses which the several Synods of *Scotland* caused present to his Majesty. These not only resolved to stand true to their Country, but persuaded and encouraged their Hearers to continue stedfast also. The Adventurer having got a Supply of Money, Arms, Ammunition, and warlike Stores, from *France* and *Spain*, which were transported from *Stonehaven* and *Montrose*, the Places of their Landing, and ferried over at *Haigens-Nook* (where a Batterie was erected for securing the Passage) by the Country People, in an hundred and eighty five Carts, which they were compelled to bring in for that Purpose, published an Order, upon the 28th, for preparing Carriages to convey his Baggage to *Berwick upon Tweed*, or the like Distance. These having come in, he set out for *Dalkeith* upon the 1st November; several of his Detachments marched before him, and some, particularly a Party of the *MacPhersons*, joined him there, without halting at *Edinburgh*; *Lochziel* was the last who left that City, to follow his Master; they stayed at *Dalkeith* from the 1st to the 3d of November, which happened to be a Sunday, when they set out. Two Corps marched from thence; the one towards *Pennycuik*, the other to *Loanhead*, both Places being in their Way to *Peebles* and *Carlisle*. These Detachments escorted their Baggage and Ammunition in about 150 Carts and Waggons, and near as many Sumpter-Horses. He himself marched with the main Body on Foot towards

wards *Lauder*, where he arrived that Night, and lay in the Earl of *Lauderdale's* Lodging. Next Day he returned to *Channel-Kirk*, to bring up the rest of his Troops ; from whence having come back he continued his Rout, with his Highlanders and Islanders, towards *Kelso*, where he crossed the *Tweed*, and upon the 6th, with 7000 Men, he entred *England*, where every Thing was in Readiness to receive him ; for, from his first Landing, the Regency had taken care to put the Kingdom in the best Posture of Defence ; these consisted of the following Members : *John Lord Archbishop of Canterbury* ; *Lord Hardwicke*, *Lord Chancellor* ; *Lionel Duke of Dorset*, *Lord President* ; *John Lord Gower*, *Lord Privy-Seal* ; *William Duke of Devonshire*, *Lord Steward* ; *Charles Duke of Grafton*, *Lord Chamberlain* ; *Charles Duke of Richmond*, *Master of the Horse* ; *Charles Duke of Bolton* ; *John Duke of Bedford*, *first Commissioner of the Admiralty* ; *John Duke of Montague*, *Master-General of the Ordnance* ; *Archibald Duke of Argyle* ; *Thomas Holles Duke of Newcastle*, *John Marquis of Tweeddale*, *William Earl of Harrington*, these three principal Secretaries of State ; *Henry Earl of Pembroke*, *Groom of the Stole* ; *Philip Earl of Chesterfield*, *Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland* ; *John Earl of Stair* ; *William Earl of Bath* ; *Richard Viscount Cobham* ; *Henry Pelham*, Esq ; *first Commissioner of the Treasury*. These great Men are so well known that it is superfluous to say any Thing of their Merit ; they set about providing every Thing requisite to defeat the Pretender's Design ; the Men of War were stationed in the properest Places for intercepting any Convoys that might come over from *France* with Troops for his Use ; the Forts and Sea-Port Towns were supplied with Cannon, and the Forces were ordered to march for the Coast ; an Order was sent to Mr. *Trevor* at the *Hague*, to require the 6000 *Auxiliaries* the *Dutch* were obliged to furnish *Britain* in case of an Invasion ; the States-General complied with the Desire, and gave Orders for them to hold themselves in Readiness to embark ; this the *French* Minister remonstrated against, and on the 7th *September* gave in a Memorial, setting forth that the sending eight of the Battalions, which defended *Tournay*, to the Assistance of the King of *Great Britain*, was an Infraction of the Capitulation of that Town, his Master was pleased to grant them ; that the Employing these in Defence of th King of *England*, was so far detrimental to the *French*, that it enabled the National

British Troops to continue to act against his Master and his Allies, and desired a speedy Answer to this Representation. The States drew up a Reply, in Substance this, That they were sorry his most Christian Majesty should take any Umbrage at sending to *England* these Troops, which made Part of the Garrison of *Tournay*, since this was no Violation of the Treaty of that Place, as appeared from the Words of it; that they were obliged to assist *Britain*, in Consequence of the most solemn Engagements; that these Forces were by no Means to act offensively against *France*, nor in the most remote Places on the Continent from her Barrier, but only in Support of a Crown, (with which they were in the strictest Alliance) when shaken by rebellious Subjects. Some other Memorials were afterwards presented in, as upon the 18th, which was answered upon the 21st; another upon the 6th October, which was replied to upon the 13th.

The subtile Arguments of the *Abbe de la Ville* had not the Influence expected; for on the 17th September three Battalions, and on the 20th, three more, and four Companies, of *Hersler's Swiss Regiment of Foot*, commanded by Count *Nassau*, arrived in the *Thames*, and before the middle of October the whole were landed, and had immediate Orders to join General *Wade's Army*, which they did, and continued in *England* till all was over; but they were engaged in no Action.

Here was Demonstration, that the French Court was concerned in the Chevalier's Design, though at his first Arrival in *Paris*, January 1744, she pretended to have no Knowledge of his Journey; and when openly in the Country, her Party in *Holland* suggested, that *M. Amelot* was removed and disgraced, for giving the Adventurer such Hopes as drew him there. Yea, her Ministers went so far as to call his Enterprize a *Don Quixote Expedition* at the *Hague*, and some other Courts of Europe: But now the Scene is altered, the Face of Affairs is changed; for the Grand Duke of *Tuscany* was elected Emperor by seven Votes of nine, upon the 2d September. The prudent Conduct and warlike Genius of the Prince of *Conti*, who acquired such Laurels in *Italy*, could not with 100,000 Men obstruct that decisive Stroke, which was given to the Councils and Arms of *France*, by the Management of King *George II.* who arrived at *St. James's* three Days before this

great Event, to the universal Joy of his Subjects then at a Gaze.

His Majesty had scarce landed in *England*, when he was address'd from all Quarters of the Kingdom. The People had an Emulation proceeding from an unfeigned Sincerity to exceed in Loyalty. The Merchants and trading Part of *London* associated, at the Risk of their Lives and Fortunes, for Support of their King; Men of Property of all Ranks and Orders, crowded in with liberal Subscriptions for raising Forces, beyond Example. The Admirals and Captains in the Navy agreed to levy a Regiment of Foot, for the Pay of which they appropriated their own Salaries. The Proprietors of the Prince *Frederick* and *Duke* Privateers, gave a Loan to the King of their Share of the rich Prizes these Ships had taken, *viz.* 700,000 *l.* to be repaid as the Parliament should think fit. The Clergy, with a becoming Zeal, formed their Hearers by Precept, and excited them by their Example, to the Support of the Crown, of their own Liberties, and of the reformed Religion, Witness the well connected Sermons of the excellent Bishop of *Oxford*, and learned Archbishop of *York*, whose Zeal was so great, that, in a Meeting of the Nobility, Gentry and Clergy of that County, he delivered the following pathetick Harrangue.

A SPEECH, made by his Grace the Lord Archbishop of York, at presenting an Association entered into at the Castle of York, Sept. 24, 1745.

My Lords; Gentlemen; My Reverend Brethren of the Clergy;

I Am desired by the Lords Lieutenants of the several Ridings, to open to you the Reasons of our present Assembling: And as the Advertisement, which has called us together, is in every Body's Hands, and the Fact now speaks itself too plainly, a few Words will be sufficient on the Occasion.

It was some time before it was believed, (I would to God it had gained Credit sooner) but now every Child knows it, that the Pretender's Son is in *Scotland*; has set up his Standard there; has gathered and disciplined an Army of great Force; receives daily Increase of Numbers; is in Possession of the Capital City there; has defeated a small Part of the King's

King's Forces ; and is advancing with hasty Steps towards England.

What will be the Issue of this rapid Progress, must be left to the Providence of God. However, what is now incumbent upon us to do, is to make the best Provision we can against it ; and every Gentleman, I dare say every Man in England, will think it his Wisdom and his Interest, to guard against the mischievous Attempts of these wild and desperate Ruffians.

But the great Mischief to be feared, which ought to alarm us exceedingly, and put us immediately on our Defence, is the certain Evidence, which every Day opens more and more, that these Commotions in the *North* are but Part of a great Plan concerted for our Ruin.—They have begun under the Countenance, and will be supported by the Forces of *France* and *Spain*, our old and inveterate (and late Experience calls upon me to add, our savage and blood-thirsty) Enemies.—A Circumstance that should *fire* the Indignation of every honest *Englishman*. If these Designs should succeed, and Popery and arbitrary Power come in upon us, under the Influence and Direction of these two tyrannical and corrupted Courts, I leave you to reflect, what would become of every thing that is valuable to us !

We are now blessed with the mild Administration of a just and Protestant King, who is of so strict an Adherence to the Laws of our Country, that not an Instance can be pointed out, during his whole Reign, wherein he made the least Attempt upon the Liberty, or Property, or Religion, of a single Person. But if the Ambition and Pride of *France* and *Spain* is to dictate to us, we must submit to a Man to govern us under their hated and accursed Influence, who brings his Religion from *Rome*, and the Rules and Maxims of his Government from *Paris* and *Madrid*.

For God's Sake, Gentlemen, let us consider this Matter as becomes us, and let no Time be lost to guard against this prodigious Ruin. To your immortal Honour be it spoken, you have considered it ; and are now met together to call in the unanimous Consent and Assistance of this great County. This County, as it exceeds every other for its Extent and Riches, so it very naturally takes the Lead of the inferior ones. And it will be extremely to our Credit ; give Courage to the Friends

of the best Constitution in the World ; damp the Spirit of its Enemies at home ; (if any such can be conceived in *Britain* at this dangerous Crisis) and be an Instruction to those abroad ; that there is still Spirit and Honesty enough among us to stand up in Defence of our common Country. This will be the Use of an unanimous and hearty Declaration of Fidelity to our Country, and Loyalty to our King. But the Times, Gentlemen, call for something more than this ! Something must be done, as well as said.—And the Fund for our Defence, already begun, and now to be proposed to this great Assembly, will, it is hoped, from Reasons of publick Example and publick Safety, meet with the hearty Concurrence of every Individual that composes it. And at the same Time that your hearts go along with the Association, your Hands will be open to support the necessary Measures of Self-defence.

As to you, my Reverend Brethren, I have not long had the Honour to preside among you ; but from the Experience I have had, and what I have always heard of your honest Love to your Country, (if you permit me to say so) I will be your Security to the Publick, that you will decline no Pains to instruct and animate your People ; nor Expence, according to your Circumstances, to stand up against Popery and arbitrary Power, under a *French* or a *Spanish* Government.--- We scorn the Policies of the Court of *Rome* ; have no Interests separate from the People ; but on every Occasion, where our Country is concern'd, look upon ourselves as incorporated with the warmest Defenders of it ; or, if we do desire to be distinguished, it will be by our Ardor and Zeal to preserve our happy Constitution.

Let us unite then, Gentlemen, as one Man, to stop this dangerous Mischief, from which Union no Man surely can withdraw, or withhold his Assistance, who is not listed into the wicked Service of a *French* or *Spanish* Invasion, or wholly unconcern'd for the Fate of his *bleeding Country*.

May the great God of Battles stretch out his all-powerful Hand to defend us ; inspire an Union of Hearts and Hands among all Ranks of People ; a clear Wisdom into the Councils of his Majesty ; and a steady Courage and Resolution into the Hearts of his Generals.

This moving and lively Representation, had so good an Effect, that the following Association was unanimously entered into,

into, 90,000 £. was subscribed for, to maintain 4000 Men, who were raised and cloathed by the first of November.

The ASSOCIATION.

WHEREAS there is now a horrid and unnatural Rebellion, formed and carried on in *Scotland*, by Papists and other wicked and treacherous Persons, countenanced and supported by the old and inveterate Enemies of our Country, and the Religion and Liberties thereof, the Crowns of *France* and *Spain*, in order to dethrone his present Majesty King *George*, the only rightful and lawful King of these Realms; and having subverted our Religion, Laws, and Liberties, (which God forbid) to set upon the Throne a Popish Pretender, a Defendant and a Slave to those tyrannous and corrupted Courts: We the Lord Archbishop of *York*, Lords Lieutenants, Nobility, Deputy Lieutenants, Justices of the Peace, Clergy, Gentlemen, Freeholders, and others of the County of *York*, whose Names are subscribed to this Writing, and every of us, being of Opinion, that in Times so full of Danger and treasonable Practices as these are, an Union of our Hearts and Forces will be most conducing to his Majesty's Safety, and the publick Good of our Country, do voluntarily and willingly bind ourselves every one of us to the other jointly and severally, in the Band of one firm and loyal Society, and do hereby promise, that with our whole Powers, Bodies, Lives and Estates, we and every of us will stand by and assist each other in the Support and Defence of his Majesty's sacred Person and Government, and will withstand, offend, and pursue, as well by Force of Arms, as by all other Means, the said Popish Pretender and Traitors, and also all Manner of Persons, of what State soever they be, and their Abettors, that shall attempt, act, counsel, or consent to any Thing that shall tend to the Harm of his Majesty King *George*, or of his Royal Highness the Prince of *Wales*, or any of their Issue, or to the Subversion of his Majesty's Government. And we do by this Instrument declare, that no one of us shall, for any Respect of Persons or Causes, or for Fear or Reward, separate ourselves from this Association, or fail in the Prosecution thereof, during our Lives. Dated at the Castle of *York* the 24th Day of September, in the Year of our Lord 1745.

Every Gentleman engaged for a Year's valued Rent of his Estate, as his Share, and in a short Time, about 33,000 £. was paid down; yea, some went so far, as to maintain a Company, such as Squire *Thornington*, who listed a Corps of 70 Men, whom he cloathed and paid out of his private Interest, and called by the Name of the *Yorkshire Blues*: And not only did the Venerable Prelate of *York* exert himself, but in general the whole of the Clergy, such as the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the Bishops of *Worcester*, *Hereford* and *Durham*, &c. whose circular Letters to those of their Diocesses, well deserve a Place in the Memoirs of the Times; but as it would not answer my Purpose to swell this History too much with Papers of that Kind, I shall not insert them. Nor were those of the established Church solely Champions for the Cause of Liberty. The Dissenters contributed in their Turn, and shewed their Zeal according to their Capacities. The *Quakers*, whose Sect began anno 1650, furnished the Troops with Woollen Waist-coats, to be worn under their Cloathing, to enable them to go thro' their Winter Campaign; yea the *Roman Catholicks* themselves abhorred the Thoughts of a Change.

The Nobility and Gentry, such as Lord Chancellor, Duke of *Montague*, and Duke of *Kingston*, with the *British Demosthenes*, *Arthur Onslow* Speaker of the House of Commons, raised some Troops of Horse; the Duke of *Ancaster*, Duke of *Bedford*, Earl of *Cholmondeley*, Earl of *Berkley*, Earl of *Hallifax*; Lord *Gower* and Lord *Herbert* levied each a Regiment of Foot, some of which were not disbanded till 3d *September* 1746. and *Kingston's* Horse not till the 15th, when they received the Thanks of the King, and all but eight Men listed in the Regiment of Dragoons to be raised for the Duke of *Cumberland*. The Judges, such as Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench, Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer, Master of the Rolls, and Numbers of others surrounded the Throne, soliciting to be permitted to hazard their Lives in Defence of their Country, and to be authorized, at their own Expence, to raise Forces for its Protection. The Towns, nay the Incorporations veyed in Support of the Cause. The first Thing his Majesty did, upon his Return from *Germany* was, like a true Father of his People, to provide for their Safety. By his Command, the Duke of *Newcastle* notified on the 5th *September* to the City of *London*, the Progress of the Pretender, that she might prepare against

against all Events. The City Militia was directly put in Order, that of *Westminster* was commanded to be in Readiness to march. Upon the 10th, the Mayor and Aldermen waited of their Sovereign, offered him their Service, and declared, " That upon every Occasion, they were ready to sacrifice all that was dear and valuable to them, in Defence of his Majesty's Person and Family, and in Support of the happy Constitution both in Church and State." Six Regiments were immediately raised, who took an Oath of Fidelity to the Government, and abjured the Pretender. The other Towns in *England*, like the Members of the Body influenced by their Head, soon followed the Example of the Metropolis.

The four Battalions of the Foot Guards were directly augmented : On the 5th, a Proclamation was emitted against Papists and Nonjurors to take Effect after the 19th. An Advertisement was published from the War-office, dated the 6th, offering 6*l.* Bounty-money to every able-bodied Man five Foot seven Inches high, or upwards, without Shoes, under 30 Years of Age, if before the 24th *September* he would lift in the Guards. On the 13th, Letters were sent to the several Counties in *England* and *Wales* to raise the Militia, and Arms were given them. The Alacrity with which the People came in can scarce be paralleled. On the 14th, by Proclamation, every Man, who from that Time till *January* first should enlist in any Regiment of Horse, Foot or Dragoons, was proffered his Discharge in the Space of two Years. On the 23d, the Regiments of *Gray's* and *Blackwall*, the three Battalions of the Foot Guards, and seven Regiments of Foot commanded by Major Generals *Pultney*, *Howard*, *Bragg*, *Johnson*, Brigadier Generals *Douglas* and *Cholmondeley*, and Colonel *Sowls* landed at *Gravesend*. Upon the 26th, about 1500 Merchants, Traders and Proprietors of publick Funds, agreed by Subscription to take Bank-notes in Payment of their Debts, in order that the *Specie* might circulate among the Troops ; this put a Stop to a Run which had been upon the Bank some Days before, from a groundless Fear of a Design upon the Treasury, which was at this Time strictly observed. On the Night of the 9th *October* the Train'd-bands began to mount Guard in four Places, viz. at the *Royal Exchange*, at *St. Dunstan's* in the West, at *St. Sepulchres*, and in *Devonshire Square*, they remained on Duty 24 Hours, and then were relieved by the other

other Companies of the six Regiments in their Turns, for securing the Peace of the City against publick or private Enemies : That Day the *Venetian Ambassador* made his Entrance with the utmost Magnificence, and was next Day conducted in great State to an Audience of the King, whom he assured of the great Esteem his Masters had for him. On the Night of the 10th the Tower Hamlets began to mount Guard at *White-chapel-bars, Tower-hill, Wapping and Wellclose-square* : And on the 17th, the Parliament who had been summoned September 18th, sat down notwithstanding the following Discharge.

CHARLES Prince of Wales, &c. Regent of Scotland, England, France and Ireland, and the Dominions thereunto belonging.

CHARLES P. R.

WHHEREAS we are certainly informed, That the Elector of Hanover has taken upon him to summon a Parliament to meet at *Westminster*, on *Thursday* the Seventeenth of this instant *October* ; We hereby warn and command all his Majesty's Liege Subjects, whether Peers or Commoners, to pay no Obedience to any such Summons, and not to presume to meet or act as a Parliament at the Time and Place appointed, or any other ; the so doing by any Authority but that of the King our Royal Father, since the setting up of his Standard, his Majesty's gracious Pardon offered for all that is past, being an ouvert Act of Treason and Rebellion : But if, notwithstanding this our Declaration, any Number of Persons shall presume to meet in either House, and act there as Members of a lawful Parliament, they cannot but be sensible that no Right or Privilege of Parliament can avail to justify what they say or do, in such an unlawful Assembly. And for those of his Majesty's Subjects of this his ancient Kingdom of *Scotland*, whether Peers or Commoners, who shall, contrary to these our express Commands, presume to sit or vote as aforesaid, as soon as the same shall be verified to us, the Transgressors shall be proceeded against as Traitors and Rebels to their King and Country, and their Estates shall be confiscated for his Majesty's Use, according to the Laws of the Land ; the pretended Union of the Kingdoms being now at an End. *Lastly,* We hereby strictly enjoin and command all his Majesty's faithful

faithful Subjects, of what Rank and Degree soever, to pay no Obedience or Regard to any Act, Vote, Order or Resolution, that may be published in the Name of both Houses, or of either of them respectively, as they shall answer the contrary at their Peril. Given at our Palace of *Holy-rood-house*, the ninth Day of *October*, One thousand seven hundred and forty five.

CHARLES P. R.

By his Highness's Command.

J. MURRAY.

Here one may ask, What was the Pretender's Design to emit such a Declaration? Was it left the States of the Nation (the Pretender to whose Crown being in the Country with an *High-and Band*) should maturely deliberate what to do? Was it that a military Force, and not a Civil Power should govern? Or was it to show that he descended from the Royal Family of *Steuart*, who were against calling of Parliaments, and which when called, were frequently dissolved? Did he think there was not a *British Cato* or *Cassius* in Parliament, to point out the Diseases of the Nation, if there were any? Or was it to have an Opportunity of making both Houses of Parliament Victims for disobeying his Orders, had he prevailed? Was he inclined to tread the Steps of Pope *Leo the X.* and *Christern II. of Denmark*, who, 8th November 1520, sacrificed 94 illustrious Hosts at *Stockholm*, for disregarding the Commands of a temporal and spiritual Tyrant? Or was it that he might cull out some few, whom he would forgive for disregarding his Menaces, and so obtain the Epithet of *merciful, the distinguishing Characteristick of his Family*, particularly his *Royal Grandfather*, who, according to *Ayloff* when before him, had it in his Power but not in his Temper to forgive? Would it not have been as prudent in the Pretender to have smothered his Resentment against King *George*, and to have proffered the Parliament his Protection, as to have laid an Embargo upon them under so severe a Penalty?

Both Houses being met (few of either were absent) his Majesty came in his Robes, and being seated with the Crown on his Head, and Sceptre before him, commanded the Attendance of the Commons, who having obeyed, he made the following most gracious and moving Speech from the Throne.

His MAJESTY's most gracious Speech to both Houses of Parliament, on Thursday October 17, 1745.

My Lords, and Gentlemen,

THE open and unnatural Rebellion, which has broke out, and is still continuing in Scotland, has obliged me to call you together sooner than I intended ; and I shall lay nothing before you at present, but what immediately relates to our Security at home, reserving all other Considerations to a farther Opportunity. So wicked and daring an Attempt, in favour of a Popish Pretender to my Crown, headed by his eldest Son, carried on by traitorous and desperate Persons within the Kingdom, and encouraged by my Enemies abroad, requires the immediate Advice and Assistance of my Parliament to suppress and extinguish it. The Duty and Affection for me and my Government, and the vigilant and zealous Care for the Safety of the Nation, which have with so much Unanimity been shewn by my faithful Subjects, give me the firmest Assurance, that you are resolved to act with a Spirit becoming a Time of common Danger, and with such Vigour, as will end in the Confusion of all those, who have engaged in, or fomented this Rebellion.

I have, through the whole Course of my Reign, made the Laws of the Land the Rule of my Government, and the Preservation of the Constitution, in Church and State, and the Rights of my People, the main End and Aim of all my Actions. It is therefore the more astonishing, that any of my Protestant Subjects, who have known and enjoyed the Benefits resulting from thence, and have heard of the imminent Dangers these Kingdoms were wonderfully delivered from, by the happy Revolution, should by any Arts and Management be deluded into Measures, that must, at once, destroy their Religion and Liberties, introduce Popery, and Arbitrary Power, and subject them to a foreign Yoke.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

I rely on your Affection to me, and your Care and Concern for our common Safety, to grant me such a Supply, as may enable me entirely to extinguish this Rebellion, effectually to discourage any foreign Power from assisting the Rebels, and to restore

restore the Peace of the Kingdom ; for which Purpose I will order the proper Estimates to be laid before you. Amongst the many ill Consequences of this wicked Attempt, the extraordinary Burden, which it must bring upon my faithful Subjects, very sensibly affects me. But let those answer for it, whose Treason has occasioned it, and my People be convinced what they owe to those Disturbers of our Peace, who are endeavouring to make this Kingdom a Scene of Blood and Confusion.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

The many evident Proofs this Parliament has given, of their Duty, Fidelity, and Affection to me, and of their steady Adherence to the present happy Establishment, and the true Interest of their Country, make me repose myself entirely on the Zeal and Vigour of your Proceedings and Resolutions. I am confident you will act like Men, who consider that every Thing dear and valuable to them is attacked ; and I question not, but, by the Blessing of God, we shall, in a short Time, see this Rebellion end, not only in restoring the Tranquillity of my Government, but in procuring greater Strength to that excellent Constitution, which it was designed to subvert. The Maxims of this Constitution shall ever be the Rules of my Conduct. The Interest of me, and my People, is always the same, and inseparable. In this Common Interest let us unite ; and all those, who shall heartily and vigorously exert themselves in this just and national Cause, may always depend on my Protection and Favour.

The Lords ADDRESS, presented on Friday the 18th.

Most Gracious Sovereign,

WE your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal Subjects, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament assembled, beg Leave to return your Majesty our humble Thanks, for your most gracious Speech from the Throne.

As we felt the utmost Concern upon the breaking out of the unnatural Rebellion, which is still carrying on in Scotland, so our Joy on your Majesty's safe and happy Return into this Kingdom, agreeably to the ardent Wishes of your People, is proportionably augmented. We want Words to express the just Indignation and Abhorrence which rise in our Breasts at

so wicked, traitorous, and desperate an Attempt, in favour of a *Popish* Pretender to your Crown, whose groundless Claim we have unfeignedly abjured, and whose Principles and Designs we do, from the Bottom of our Hearts, detest. And we beg Leave to assure your Majesty, that this rash and presumptuous Enterprize shall have no other Effect upon our Minds, but to excite in us such a Spirit of Resolution and Unanimity, in this critical Conjunction, as, by the divine Assistance, may not only suppress this Rebellion, but confound and extinguish for ever, all future Hopes of the Pretender and his Adherents.

The many evident Proofs of true Loyalty and Affection to your Majesty, and Zeal for your Government, which have been already shewn by your faithful Subjects, with an Union and Cheerfulness never known before, unless at the happy Revolution, wrought by our great Deliverer, King *William* the Third, are clear Demonstrations, that this Nation is determined to preserve the Structure built upon that glorious Foundation. Vain indeed must be the Expectations of those, who can imagine we would part with it. As your Majesty has been graciously pleased to accept, and approve these Beginnings, we beseech you to look upon them as an Earnest of the united Zeal and Vigour of your Parliament, in the Cause of your Majesty, and their Country.

It is with Hearts full of the sincerest Gratitude, that we acknowledge your Majesty's paternal Regard for the Laws of the Land, our Constitution in Church and State, and the Rights of your People: And it is with the deepest Conviction that we declare to your Majesty, and the whole World, that the Continuance of these Blessings does, under God, entirely depend on the Maintenance of your Majesty's undoubted Title to the Crown of these Realms, the Support of your Throne, and the Preservation of the Protestant Succession in your Royal House. Whoever can entertain a Thought of exchanging those just Rules of Government, bounded by the Laws and Maxims of this free Constitution, for the Exercise of Tyranny, and Arbitrary Power, learned in the most despotic Courts of *Europe*; and of parting with the purest Religion in the World, for the Superstition and persecuting Spirit of Popery, must be the most abandoned of Mankind.

Warmed with these moving Sentiments, and unshaken in these Principles, we give your Majesty the strongest Assurances,

ces, That, in Defence of your sacred Person, and of all those invaluable Interests, which we already described, we are steadfastly resolved to unite, and to hazard our Estates and our Lives ; That, from this Resolution we will never depart ; but will heartily and zealously concur in all such Measures, as may most effectually conduce to extinguish the Rebellion ; to deter any foreign Power from presuming to support it ; to restore the Tranquillity of your Majesty's Government ; and to add Strength to that excellent Constitution, which this flagitious Attempt is intended to subvert.

May the Divine Providence guard and protect your Majesty's precious Life ; give Success to your Councils and Arms, against all your Enemies ; and Stability to your Throne.

The Commons ADDRESS, presented Saturday the 19th.

Most Gracious Sovereign,

WE your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal Subjects, the Commons of Great Britain in Parliament assembled, beg Leave to return your Majesty our unfeigned Thanks for your Majesty's most gracious Speech from the Throne, and to congratulate your Majesty, upon your happy, safe, and seasonable Return, to these your Kingdoms.

We cannot sufficiently express our Abhorrence and Detestation of the unnatural Rebellion now raging in *North Britain*.

Permit us to give your Majesty the strongest Assurances of our Duty and Affection to your Person and Government, and to declare that we will, with Vigilance, Zeal, and Unanimity, shew a Spirit and Vigour becoming a Time of Danger. In order to make these Sentiments effectual, your faithful Commons will grant such Supplies, and put such Strength in your Majesty's Hands, as, we trust in God, and hope from your Majesty's Wisdom, cannot fail to defeat the Attempts of those, who have already made one Part of the united Kingdom, and would make the other, a Scene of Blood, Rapine, and Confusion.

With Hearts full of Gratitude we acknowledge, that, under your Majesty's Royal Protection, we have lived in an uninterrupted and secure Enjoyment of our Religion, Laws, and Liberties.

As all these are now wickedly and openly attacked, we are bound by every Consideration, human and divine, to exert our-

ourselves in the Defence of your sacred Person and Government.

Your Majesty may safely rely on the Zeal and Vigour of your faithful Commons; who are resolv'd to act like Men, sensible of the Blessings we enjoy, and determined to preserve those Blessings to ourselves and our Posterity.

We beg Leave to congratulate your Majesty on the general Concurrence of your Subjects in these Sentiments of Duty to your Majesty, and Zeal for your Service; which happy Union, we doubt not, will, by your Majesty's Wisdom, be improved to the future Glory and Welfare of your Crown and People, and to the utter Confusion and Disappointment of the Enemies of both.

The first Thing the Parliament did after these loyal Addresses, was upon the 21st October, to frame an Act, impowering the King to secure and detain such Persons as his Majesty should suspect of conspiring against his Person and Government. On the 23d, a Motion was made in the House of Commons for calling home the Remainder of the *British* Forces for suppressing the Rebellion; but the previous Question being put, Whether this Vote should at present be staled? it carried in the Negative. At this the Disaffected conceived great Hopes; but whoever considers a little, will find the same were groundless, for already there were in *England* about 36,000 regular Troops; so that it was answering *France*'s Design too much to call home any more. On the 4th of November, 1,298,100 l. 4 s. 7 d. was granted for paying 49,229 effective Men for the Year 1746; that very Day 64,360 l. 13 s.- d. was granted for paying the 13 Regiments of Foot commanded by the Noblemen formerly mentioned, and others, for 122 Days, from the respective Times of their being raised, and 13,176 l. 10 s. for the Pay of the two Regiments of Horse, for the same Time, and in the same Way; and 35,252 l. 19 s. was appropriated for maintaining the 20 Independent Companies for 361 Days. Upon the 14th, his Majesty was impowered to raise what of the *English* Militia he thought fit.

From these, one may observe the Difference betwixt his present Majesty and King *James VII. or II.* the former is regaled and admired in Time of Danger, he is the beautiful Head of the Constitution, whence, as from a Fountain, Honours are derived, the Ornament of his Kingdoms, the Darling

ling of his Subjects, and Delight of his Family, who all join as it were to sacrifice themselves for his Welfare; whereas the other was a Disgrace to his Country, abhorred by his Subjects, despised by the Popish Powers, yea by the Pope himself, and deserted by his Children. And tho' he had conferred upon some, great Places, which the worst of Beings, if a King, has at his Disposal; yet even the most of these, ashamed of his Conduct, relinquished his Cause.

On the 18th, *William our Deliverer* arrived at St. James's from *Flanders*, having set out from *Brussels* on the 14th; and on the 25th were landed four Troops of Sir *John Ligonier's* Regiment of Horse, Major General *Bland's* Regiment of Dragoons, the Detachment of Foot Guards who served at *Ostend*, Lieutenant General *Sinclair's* Battalion of Foot, Lieutenant General *Harrison or Henderson's*, Major General *Husk's*, and Lord *Harry Beauclerk's* Regiments of Foot. On the 27th, the lovely Princess of *Wales*, that Center of the Female Virtues, was delivered of Prince *Henry-Frederick*, whereupon his Majesty was complimented by both Houses of Parliament on the 31st: And as this Increase of his Family was most agreeable to all but the Rebels and their Abettors, it was so far an Evidence, how much he reign'd in the Hearts, as well as over the Persons of his Subjects; yea, it was a Confutation of the Bishop of *Rennes's* Assertion at *Madrid*, that the People of *Britain* were ripe for a Revolt. And on the 30th, his Birth-day was kept with an uncommon Gaiety through *England*; but in *Scotland* it was not so universally solemnized, by Reason of the Rebels, by whom the Country was then overawed; yet in many Parts it was observed, at *Edinburgh* the Castle displayed the blue Flag, and discharged a Round from her great Guns at Mid-day; yea some met in Taverns, where Entertainments were prepared, and drank the Health of him whose Birth-day has prov'd a Joy to Millions.

The Towns in *England* were now in a Posture of Defence. *Berwick* was able to hold out against the Pretender; for the brave Lieutenant-General *Handasyde* had re-inforced the Garrison of that Town with eight Companies of *Price's Foot*, just upon their landing from *Flanders*, and commanded five of *Ligonier's* to remain at *Holy-Island* till further Orders. *England* was now a Seminary of Soldiers, act'd by the Spirit of their King, who declared in Council, that if the Rebellion continu-

ed, he would lead his Army himself. The Hero, now Sixty-two Years of Age, did not doubt to put to Flight the Son of him who, with the Grandchildren of *Lewis XIV.* at *Oudenarde*, fled before his Standards when but Twenty-five.

Field-Mareschal *Wade* having been declared Commander in Chief of the Army intended for the North, moved from *Doncaster* on the 21st, with the British and Dutch Infantry, having sent his Cavalry to *York* some Days before. With his Army he marched forward, gathering Strength as he advanced, and like a Stone rolling down a Hill, becoming the more terrible, and increasing its Rapidity in Proportion to the Square of its Distance, from the Place whence at first it set out. The Humanity shown by the People to the Soldiers on the Road was inexpressible. As one Man, they contributed with their Horses, and otherwise, to the Ease of the Troops; so that, after a March of Eighty-seven Miles, they arrived 28th October at *Newcastle upon Tyne*, being then about 14,000 Men strong.

The first Thing the General did was to secure the adjacent Country from Attacks, and to dispose the Troops in proper Quarters: After which he caused signify by Proclamation, upon the 30th October, the King's Pleasure, "That those of his "Majesty's Subjects inhabiting the *Highlands of Scotland*, and "others, who have been seduced by Menaces and Threaten- "ings of their Chiefs and Superiors, to take Arms, and enter "into a most unnatural Rebellion, should be Objects of the "Royal Mercy, if they would return to their Habitations on "or before the 12th November; but if they slighted this Of- "fer, they were to be punished according to the Demerit of "their Crimes."

This voluntary Condescension had but little Effect upon them; their Chiefs were deeply engaged, and had contracted too much Guilt to hope for the Royal Mercy; the People were kept in Ignorance of what was doing, as well as of the Hazard they run. Gracious Declarations were attributed to the Pannick which reigned among the Forces. "Whom have we "to deal with, but the Remainder of the shattered Troops at "Fontenoy, they will never face us," was the Language of the Rebels.

As such Preparations were made against the Pretender, it was surprising that he, who had served in some Campaigns, did not desist. Driven by a Thirst of Power, hurried by a boundless

Ambition to govern, and dazzled with the first glittering Appearance of his good Fortune, he pursued his Design ; but hearing that Marshal *Wade* was at *Newcastle*, he threw himself with his Army into the Western Road, surrounded by a Crowd of Flatterers, who made him believe, that he wanted nothing to be admired, but to be seen, nothing to his being joined by Multitudes in *England*, but only to set up his Standard there.

About Twenty-four Hours after his decamping from *Duddingstoun*, General *Wade* had an Account by an Express, and would have proceeded to attack him, had not his Motions from the Routs taken by his different Detachments, been so uncertain, that the Marshal was at a Stand. The Matter being laid before a Council of War, it was agreed to wait at *Newcastle*, both to preserve the Coal-mines, that Support of *London*, and to be ready to fall out upon him, when assured of his Intentions.

The Chevalier having entered *England* upon the 6th, marched on the 7th with his Army to *Halyhaugh*, where he repos'd himself that Night, after sending out Parties to scour the adjacent Country. Next Day he came to *Langtoun* with Part of his Cavalry, his Infantry being sent to *Cannobie*, and some other Villages on the *Scots* Side. Saturday the 9th, he appeared with the Body of his Army on the Moor of *Carlisle*, that Western English Barrier against the ancient Invasions of the *Scots*. On the 10th, the Remainder of his Forces, who had taken the Road of *Dumfries*, arrived with his Cannon, and brought the mortifying News of thirty of their Waggons being left behind, which fell into the Hands of the Militia of that County, raised then for the Service of the Government. That Day he sent a Message with the following Summons, which were only answered from the Cannon on the Walls.

CCHARLES Prince of Wales, Regent of the Kingdom of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, and the Dominions thereunto belonging.

BEING come to recover the King our Father's just Rights, for which we are arrived with all his Authority, we are sorry to find that you should prepare to obstruct our Passage : We therefore, to avoid the Effusion of English Blood, hereby

require you to open your Gates, and let us enter, as we desire, in a peaceable Manner ; which if you do, we shall take Care to preserve you from any Insult, and set an Example to all England of the Exactness with which we intend to fulfil the King our Father's Declarations and our own : But if you shall refuse us Entrance, we are fully resolved to force it by such Means as Providence has put into our Hands, and then it will not perhaps be in our Power to prevent the fatal Consequences which usually attend a Town's being taken by Assault. Consider seriously of this, and let me have your Answer within the Space of two Hours ; for we shall take any further Delay as a peremptory Refusal, and take our Measures accordingly.

Nov. 10. 1745. Two in the Afternoon.

For the Mayor of Carlisle.

As the Body of his Army had encamped on Brampton Muir, eight Miles West from *Carlisle*, to wait for General Wade, his Letter would have proved but an impotent Menace, had they not been recalled. He himself went to *Warwick Castle*, in order to observe if the King's Troops were moving towards him. *Perth* was left to command the Seige ; but, finding the Difficulty of the Enterprize, he repaired to the Pretender, and in a Council of War expressed himself very freely, laid open the Treachery of the *French*, both from Circumstances and Facts, as well as the fatal Consequences in depending upon Assistance from the *English*, who generally abhorred their Cause ; yea, he even moved in Time to disband ; some were of his Sentiments, while others were for marching forward : At last, a middle Opinion between the two Extreams prevailed among them. The first Place they had summoned, was certainly to be reduced, in order to strike a Terror in the rest ; the Inclinations of the private Men were for Plunder, and these must not be controvuled. They immediately seize upon all the Horses they can find ; lay Hold of four Carpenters, whom they obliged to cut Wood for Fascines and scaling Ladders in *Corby* and *Warwick Parks*, which they greatly destroyed. With these they moved back to *Carlisle* upon the 13th, and at Night arrived very near it ; next Day they appear'd before the Town, and began to break Ground within 300 Paces of the *Scots Gate*, but were driven back by the continued Fire from the Batteries :

however,

however, a thick Mist coming on, they approached, and obliged the Country People, who, with their Tools and Instruments, were now in their Power, to dig a Trench towards the English Gate, as the most defenceless. *Carlisle* was attacked in three Places at once, which when the Centries saw, upon clearing up of the Sky, they were amazed, and spreading the Consternation among the Inhabitants, these were almost struck. A Fear of an Assualt, and being put to the Sword by those Men of whom they had framed but too just Notions, rendered them desperate. Numbers leapt over the Wall, which is about five Foot broad, and six Foot high, cross'd the Ditch, which is about five Foot broad, and generally escaped, though some fell into the Hands of the Enemy. The Militia being shut up in a Town where they were much fatigued, by watching for seven Nights and seven Days, and the Inhabitants almost killed with the Apprehension of a Massacre, desired a Meeting. The Mayor, Aldermen and Citizens, conveened with the Governor of the Castle, to consult about the proper Methods in this Extremity. Colonel *Durand*, who, upon Trial by a Court Martial September 16th 1746, was honourably acquit, gave his Opinion, that the Place might hold out; but he was over-powered by the Voices of them, whose Love of Life took Place of Intrepidity. The Terror of the *Highlanders* storming the Town Sword in Hand, in the Night Time, having raised in their Minds a Prospect of Blood, Slaughter and Rapine, rather to be conceived than express'd, it was resolved to deliver up the Place; accordingly a white Flag is hung out, which being observed, the Rebels gave over their intended Assualt. Deputies were sent to enquire what Terms could be granted. The Answer was, That the Town should enjoy her Liberties; but the Provisions and Ammunition laid up for the Militia, should be delivered in the Case these were in; yet before Agreement, a Message was sent to the Chevalier, then at five Miles Distance, to inform him of their Success. He answered, That he was not to do Things by Halves; he must have both the Castle and Town, or neither of them. The Garrison of the former were by the brave *Durand* almost prevailed with to stand a Seige; but, upon second Thoughts, they shamefully deserted their Cause; for, in one Night, of 400 Men only 80 remained, and some of these unfit for Action. In the mean Time, *Perth*, who was afterwards made Governor, took Possession

of the Town and Castle in the Pretender's Name, about ten o'Clock on the 15th. Thus merely through Fear, one of the strongest Cities of *England* fell into the Hands of the Rebels, who lost only an Engineer called *Dalton*, an *Irishman*, but bred in *France*, killed, and one Man wounded. About three Months Provisions for the Militia, and near 200 Horses, with their Furniture, were seized ; the Men were dismiss'd upon taking an Oath, that they would not serve against the Family of *Steuart* for a Year. In the Castle were found 1000 Stand of Arms, 100 Barrels of Powder, and a great deal of military Stores. The Country for several Miles round had secured their Money, Plate, and most valuable Effects, in the Castle, which followed of Course. In it were found some broad Swords and Targets taken from the Rebels at *Preston* 1715. The first Thing they did was to secure Mr. *Pattinson* the Mayor, whom, with the Aldermen and Bailiffs, they obliged to proceed to the Cross in their Robes, with the Mace before them, and there proclaim the Declarations of the Pretender and his Son ; who entered the Place, preceeded by his Life-guards, on the 17th, amidst the Acclamations of his *Highlanders*. Various Reports were made of the Mayor's Conduct, and at length he was secured in the Tower of *London*, upon Suspicion of Treason : but, as hitherto no Trial is taken of him, we suspend forming a Judgment of his Innocence or Guilt.

The Rebels, while here, made excessive Demands. The Cess, Excise, and Land-tax, were exacted under the severest Penalties ; yea, a Contribution from the Inhabitants, upon Pain of military Execution, was extorted. The private Men among them committed Outrages of the worst Kind ; the Aged were not exempted from their bloody Hands, nor yet the Fair, whose Sex pleads Compassion and Respect, from their more brutal Desires.

General *Wade* being assured of their Rout, prepared to intercept them ; but the Rigour of the Season, their late forced Marches, and a Kind of Flux among the Troops, retarded his Operations till the 16th, that he put his Army in Motion for the Relief of *Carlisle*, now in the Hands of the Enemy. His Design was to decamp at Day-break ; but, to the Prejudice of the Expedition, by moving from the left, the *Swiss* Troops had the Van, and they would not stir till 10 o'Clock. The Weather now excessively cold, the

Snow

Snow lying three Feet deep upon the Ground, and a hard Frost, were Difficulties the Army must encounter. The Major Generals *Howard* and *Oglethorpe*, the Brigadiers *Cholmondeley* and *Mordaunt*, marched at the Head of the Infantry. They advanced with great Alacrity, Danger serving only to enhance the Prize of serving their King and Country, and about eight o'Clock at Night arrived at *Ovington*; but as it was observed, that many of the last Column might drop through excessive Fatigue upon the Roads, which were terribly broken, and full of Ice, Major Generals *Huske* and *Oglethorpe*, sent out Countrymen with Lights and Carts, to bring them up. In this Service they were employed till nine the next Morning, when the Forces continued their March to *Hexam*. The first Line entered the Town about four in the Afternoon, and the Rear at Mid-night. Here the Marshal being assured of the Fate of *Carlisle*, resolved to return, and upon the 22d arrived at *Newcastle*, through Roads in a Manner impassable, with an Army almost spent with Fatigue, though they had only marched thirty-two Miles in six Days. The Soldiers were received, and lodged by the Magistrates and Inhabitants, in the publick Halls, Malt-houses, and other empty Buildings; yea such as appeared most shattered, were supplied with Quarters, and proper Refreshments in private Houses, at the Proprietors personal Expence. In two Days they were revived, and on the 24th, agreeable to the Resolution of a Council of War, began their March Southward in Pursuit of the Enemy, who, on the 20th, had set out for *Penrith*, where they halted till the 22d, that they marched for *Kendale*, advanced to *Lancaster* on the 24th, and reached *Preston* on the 26th, proclaiming their Pretender as they went, amidst the Acclamations of his Party. Here the Chevalier, who marched on Foot, mounted on Horseback, and surveyed the adjacent Country, while his Army were vigorously collecting the publick Money, and shewing a Resentment against that Place which had twice been fatal to those of their Way, viz. in 1648 and 1715. On the 28th they proceeded to *Wigan* and *Leigh*. The Western Shires were now in a Consternation; for as the Pretender's Counsels were only made known to *O Sullivan*, *Sheridan* and *MacDonald*, their Rout was not certainly known. Every Town provided for itself; the City of *Chester*, as the Key into *Wales*, was, by the Vigilance of the Earl of *Cholmondeley*,

monday, put into a Posture of Defence, and its Bridge broke down. At Liverpool, where a Visit was expected from them, the Inhabitants took Care to secure their valuable Goods in the Ships that were in the Road. These Precautions had such Effect, that they turned Eastward to Manchester, where they advanced that Afternoon ; here they beat up for Volunteers ; some Papists, and Nonjurors of desperate Fortunes, like those they had picked up on their Rout, engaged with them ; but, to their great Disappointment, no Person of Rank or Distinction came in. Here they formed the Manchester Regiment, of which the Pretender made the unfortunate Francis Townley Colonel, and Thomas Coppoch, his Bishop of Carlisle, Quarter-master. They wore blue Cloaths, Hangers, a Plaid Saif, and white Cockade, and shared so much of their Master's Regard, as to be left at Carlisle upon his Retreat, to fall a Sacrifice to the offended Justice of their true and lawful King. On the 29th their Body moved forward, and, about Ten in the Morning, their Cavalry entered the Town. They laid hold of the Bell-man, whom they sent about to desire all such as had publick Money to bring it in. About Two in the Afternoon, the Pretender, at the Head of his Life-guards, walked into Manchester. In the Evening the Bell-man was sent through for illuminating the Place ; this was partly obeyed ; and at Night the Rear of their Army arrived. On the 30th, a Party of them marched to Stockport, the rest directing their Rout Westward to Knotsford. They carried off what Horses they met with, and such as were out of the Way, their Owners were compelled to bring in. At Night they crossed the Mersey in different Places, the Cavalry foarded it ; but the Foot and Artillery passed over Bridges of Popular and Planks laid a-cross, by the country People, whom they forced to their Assistance. They marched to Macclesfield, whether the Pretender arrived with 5000 Men, and the Artillery about Two in the Afternoon of the 1st of December. On the 2d their Van marched to Congleton, where they got Intelligence, that the main Body of the Duke's Army of 12,700 Men, mostly veteran Regiments, was at Newcastle under Line, nine Miles South-west from them.

For his Majesty had, upon the 16th November, ordered three Regiments of Horse, two of Dragoons, and fifteen of Foot, who were afterward augmented by some Detachments from

the

the Foot Guards, to march to *Lancashire* to oppose the Progress of the Enemy. Lieutenant-General, Sir *John Ligonier*, set out from *London*, on the 21st to take upon him the Command of those Troops. *Stafford* was the Place of their Rendezvous, being most convenient for observing the Rout of the Rebels, either to pursue them into *Wales*, whether had they directed their Course, they would have been shut up, or to hinder their advancing to *London*. As they were marching forward, our Deliverer begged of his Royal Father, to be admitted to put himself at the Head of these Troops: With Difficulty he obtained his Request. He set out at One in Morning of the 26th, and in three Days arrived at *Stafford*, between which Place and *Tamworth* the Army was cantoned, with the Cavalry in Front. He no sooner appeared among them, than the Hills and Valleys repeated their Huzzas. His Heroick and unaffected Mein, his easy Greatness, and Martial Countenance revived them, and raised in them a Confidence of certain Victory. As they had a sufficient Train of Artillery, and every other Thing proper for them, and their Leader (more than all) at their Head, they forgot their former Toil, and wait to obey his Orders. The Hero, hearing the Enemy designed for *Congleton*, commanded that Part of the Cavalry, which was posted at *Newcastle under Line*, to retreat to *Stone*, till the Infantry should come up. Here he watched their Motions, and observing that they were too far to the East of him, the better to intercept them in their Rout to *London*, he marched his Army to the South-East, along the Road from *London* to *Chester*, entred *Coventry*, upon the 6th, with all his Horse and two Battalions of Foot, having ordered his other Forces to encamp upon *Meriden Common*, between *Coleshill* and *Coventry*, where the Flannell Waist-Coats, the Gift of the *Quakers*, were arrived. This Step of his Royal Highness effectually disconcerted the Policy of *OSullivan*, who managed the March of the Rebels; for turn which Way they will, our Deliverer was alert to attack them.

The Pretender by his Spies having Intelligence of the Motions of the King's Troops, of their Alacrity under their Royal Leader, and their Eagerness to fight under his Eye, endeavours Circumspection. He marched the Van to *Ashburn*, and main Body of his Army to *Leek*, the better to conceal his Designs, and all of a sudden, turned to the East to *Derby*, which he

he entred, on the Morning of the 4th, with Four hundred and fifty Horse, and two thousand three hundred Foot, the rest of his Troops continued entering the Town till late at Night, when their Artillery and Baggage (which was set in the Market Place) arrived. By this Management, they appeared more numerous than they were. They are no sooner here than they levied the publick Money, in the most rigorous Manner, and at Night, held a Council of War, where the grand Question was, Whether to proceed forward, or retreat? The Meeting continued several Hours, and broke up without coming to a Resolution. Here they laboured much to rub up their Arms; and from the Measures taken by their Officers, they seemed dispos'd to proceed. In the Afternoon of the next Day, the Council of War, in the Chevalier's Presence, resumed the Consideration of what was proper to be done; and after a full Debate, they unanimously resolved to return, for the following Reasons, which, tho' imperfectly, yet were strenuously insisted upon by Lord *George Murray*, one of their Lieutenant-Generals, whose Sincerity, from that Day, they continued to suspect.

1^{mo}, If they marched forward, or into *Wales*, the Duke's superior Army, would encounter them, (and his very Name struck more Terror into the Breast of the Pretender, than an Army itself) besides, they had no Prospect of being joined by any considerable Force, for, here at *Derby*, none but three Persons, whose Morals were as base as their Circumstances despicable, repaired to their Standard. 2^{do}, If they should escape this Danger, and continue their Rout to *London*, in all Probability, an Army would be formed to receive them, before they could march that Distance, *viz.* One hundred and three Miles, and indeed their Conjecture was just. For it being apprehended that the Rebels would slip his Royal Highness and proceed, a Camp was to be formed on *Finchley Common*, composed of the Guards, and Lord *John Murray*'s old *Highland Regiment*, as also of two Troops of Lieutenant-General Sir *John Ligonier*'s Regiment of Horse, and the Remains of Lieutenant-General Sir *Robert Rich*'s Regiment of Dragoons, who, on the 1st arrived in the *Thames* from *Williamstadt* and others, some Forces *viz.* *Halley's Dragoons*, and the *Highlanders* marched thro' *London*, on the 7th, for *Barnet*. The associated Regiment of the *Law*, for the Defence of the Royal Family, and the Preservation of the

the Constitution in Church and State, made up of Gentlemen of the Gown, under the Command of Lord Chief Justice Willes entered here upon the first Rudiments of a winter Campaign. There was a large Train of Artillery, consisting of 33 Field-pieces and 48 covered Waggons, 20 Chests of Arms, 240 Matrosses, under the Care of Captain Speedwell, an Officer of 55 Years Experience, sent from the Tower. The same Day the Lieutenantcy of London, directed that two Regiments of the Trained Bands should be out every Night, and one in the Day-time; yea, several Citizens of London actually enlisted in the first Regiment of Foot Guards as Volunteers. But upon the News of the Rebel's Retreat, the Orders given the Troops were countermanded, the Artillery returned, the Day-duty of the Trained Bands was discontinued, the Volunteers honourably dismissed, and one Regiment only ordered out at Night.

3to, Should they march on, their Retreat would in all Probability be cut off; for, the Duke's Army would be joined by that of General Wade's, before their Return. That Officer had marched by the Way of *Durham*, *Darlington*, and *Richmond*, in order to cover *Yorkshire*; on the 28th he was at *Persbridge*, whence he marched to *Wetherby*, where his Troops halted the 5th of December and received their Bread from *Leeds*, as also Shoes, Stockings and Flannel Waist-coats from *London*; but judging himself too much to the West, he turned Eastward to *Ferrybridge*, where he arrived upon the 8th, as did the Cavalry at *Doncaster*. Here it was resolved that the Army should march by the Way of *Wakefield* and *Hallifax*, into *Lancashire*, in order to intercept the Enemy in their Retreat; but getting Intelligence of the Swift-ness of their March, and that they had already slipt him, he detached Major General *Ogelthorp*, with a thousand Horse, in Pursuit of them, while his Foot were to march back in several Divisions, to be under Cover every Night, by Reason of the Inclemency of the Weather, so taking the Rout of *Northallerton*, *Darlington* and *Durham*, they arrived at *Newcastle upon Tyne* the 20th December.

4to, But besides all these Difficulties, his Fortune was now changed; some of the Transports from *France* had been driven back, and others taken, particularly upon the 25th November, a Ship called the *Soleil Privateer*, on Board of which were the Earl of *Derwentwater* and his Son, about Eleven Captains, Ten Lieutenants, besides Sixty private Men: The Crew

were all sent to *Dover Castle*, and the remaining Prisoners distributed in the several Men of War of Admiral *Vernon's Squadron*, but the Officers of Distinction were conducted to the Tower, where Appartments were fitted up for them, young Mr. *Ratcliff*, being judged the Second Son of the Pretender, who was now in *France*, amused with vain and empty Promises from the Court of *Versailles*.

The Pretender's Adherents were at this Time expecting he would advance, and therefore, at *London*, they exert themselves in his Cause ; some of them, upon the 8th *December*, privately dropt his Declarations at *St. James's* upon the Parade, while about fifty less prudent, were, for malicious Expressions, taken into Custody and punished, but not with Death, for their ill-tim'd Zeal, and more unaccountable Folly. They were however in high Spirits, and expected every Day the Arrival of their Friends, who to their great Disappointment, prevailed upon by the Reasons formerly named, began to retreat.

At Ten of the Forenoon of the 6th *December*, after several Feints, they began to march from *Derby*, with their Cavalry in Front, and 13 Pieces of Cannon in the Center. Early in the Morning several Parties of their Horse were in Motion, in the Roads about the Town ; some of them seeming to move to *Loughborough*, while others kept on the *Ashburn* Side. When about a Mile from the Town, they halted upon the Hills till near Four, and then went off, their Carriages being on full Trot, and their Foot actually running. While here, not content with the extravagant Demands formerly made, under Pretence of uplifting the Money, which was subscribed for raising some Foot for the Government's Use, they sent back twelve Officers to require a large Sum of Money ; this they executed with peculiar Marks of Terror and Violence. They sent for some Cannon, which they pointed at the Mayor's House, and some others of the wealthiest People of the Town, threatening to lay them in Ashes, if 19,000*l.* was not immediately pay'd down. The Mayor compromised the Matter for 12,000*l.* which was instantly given them, on which they went off, but not without stripping some People even of their Body-cloaths and Shoes, to make up what was wanting. This Step of staying so long near the Town, kept their Rout a perfect

perfect Secret. Notwithstanding his Highness had Account of it that very Night.

No sooner had the Duke of *Cumberland* certain Intelligence of their Course, than he put himself at Head of all the Horse and Dragoons, and a Thousand Volunteers mounted, to stop them till the Foot should come up: He sent every where Expresses to the Militia to intercept them. As they were now upon the Return, they resolve to make the Country as miserable as possible, they plundered *Ashburn*, of what was valuable, after extorting a vast Sum of Money under Pain of military Execution; nay some went so far, as to murder People upon the High-road, for refusing to comply with what was out of their Power to grant. They carried off all the Horses they could lay their Hands on.

This was the Beginning of their Retreat, which they managed with all their Skill; for their Motions were as quick as uncertain, and their Designs as intricate and dark, as their Conduct violent and oppressive. To provide then against all Events the Places which they were supposed to have an Eye on, were put in a Posture of Defence. The Duke of *Richmond*, the Earl of *Cholmondeley*, the Earl of *Warrington*, the Lord *Gower*, and the Marquis of *Granby*, repaired to *Chester*, to stop their advancing into *Wales*; the *Liverpool* Battalion of Seven hundred Men was ordered to take Post at *Warrington*; these picked up about 16 Straglers who were afterwards transmitted to different Goals. A Thousand new-raised Foot were dispatch'd to *Newcastle*, to prevent their coming there, or if they came, to keep them in Play till the Troops should come up. And as their Return dispirited their own Soldiers, so it encouraged the Country People to a Degree; for, on the 8th of December, the Country about *Manchester*, to the Number of 11,000 rose, armed with Sythes, Hedge-Stakes, &c. in order to fight them; but as this Resolution might be attended with the Loss of many useful Lives, whatever might be the Success, they were prevailed with to give it up, and refer the Enemy to the Avenger of their Crimes, who was now in full Pursuit of them.

His Royal Highness had sent Expresses to the Magistrates of the Towns thro' which they were to pass, to seize all Stragglers, to harry them in their March, and spoil the Roads, while he himself was at their Heels with his Cavalry and his Foot mounted on Horses supplied by the Country People. On the

8th, the Enemy was at *Maclesfield*, and the next Day moved to *Manchester*, where the People were so prudent as to conceal their best Effects, and retire from the Place, judging that what formerly they had extorted wou'd not satisfy, but that now upon their Disappointment, their Demands wou'd be more large. Their Opinion was just, for the Rebels levied there about 16,000 £. in Cash, and committed 13,000 Damage. On the 10th, they marched to *Wigan*, and on the 11th to *Preston*, where they halted the 12th. On the 13th, they made the longest march during this Chase, viz. 20 Miles and arrived at *Lancaster*, where they halted the 14th. But having Intelligence that the Troops were still gaining Ground of them, they continue their Flight, with the greatest Precipitation, from *William the Avenger* of their Cruelty, who about Eleven o'the Night of the 10th arrived at *Maclesfield* from *Litchfield*, with two Regiments of Dragoons, having marched about forty Miles in two Days, thro' terrible Roads, by *Utoxiter* and *Cheadle*; the Foot entered at Twelve, being provided with Horses by the Gentlemen of *Staffordshire*. After reposing himself a little he gave Orders for a March about Four in the Morning and set out for *Manchester*, which the Enemy on the News of his Approach had quitted with the utmost Confusion; he entered the Town upon the 12th, amidst the repeated Acclamations of a People who pour'd out their Blessings upon him; the Town was illuminated, the Bells were set a ringing, Bonfires were prepared, and in short, every other Demonstration of Joy was observed. The Hero, touched with the Candour of their Dealings, set about a more substantial Return than an empty Compliment. By Three in the Morning he got up, his Army was in Motion; the Van arrived at *Preston* the 13th, about four Hours after the Rebels had quitted that Place; the first who entered the Town were the *Georgia Rangers*, soon after, a Party of the Duke of *Kingston's* Horse, commanded by Lieutenant Colonel *Mordaunt*, and the Captains, *Lord Byrson*, and *Lord Robert Mannors*. 'Twas here the Dukes Army joined the Detachment under General *Oglethorpe*, who came in likewise with a Party of the Duke of *Montague's* and *M. Wade's* Regiments of Horse, and *St. George's* Dragoons. These Troops had marched from *Doncaster* without a Halt, and in three Days made about a 100 measured Miles, over Snow and Ice, in order either to come up with the Enemy,

or

or join the Duke of *Cumberland*, by whom that March was literally paralleled ; a Captain called *Mackenzie* was here taken Prisoner, with two private Men, who after Examination were closely confined. The Rangers were immediately sent after the Enemy, who had halted at *Lancaster* upon the 14th till the whole of their Troops should come up. They were in Sight of them that Day, and greatly alarmed the Enemy, but two of them who had rode beyond the rest were taken Prisoners by a reconnoitring Party. About Ten o'Clock Forenoon, a hundred Horse, among whom was *Perth* reached *Kendal* ; the country People being there at a Market mobbed their Rear, as they were turning toward the Bridge of the Town, one of the Rebels was killed by a Musket fired out a Window ; whereupon the Town's People closed in and took two more Prisoners. Thereafter some Shot being fired by the Rebels, which killed a Shoemaker and an Ostler ; they instantly began to disperse, but not so fast as to evite a general Volley, which by a particular Piece of good Fortune did them no Mischief, being at too great a Distance to do them Hurt. *Perth* posted to *Shap*, where he arrived upon the 16th. Upon the 15th, their main Body entered *Kendal*, where hearing that one of their Husliars was slain, they breathed nothing but Revenge, the Cess and publick Money were demanded under the severest military Execution ; the Magistrates, with great Difficulty, could pacify their Cheifs, by representing that the Inhabitants were innocent of what was laid to their Charge, and that in a publick Market the Offenders were unknown ; as *Locheil* came at last to understand the Matter, the Contributions were abated, yet a great Sum was levied, and as they were departing out of the Place, their last Rank plundered some Houses, stripped some of their Shoes, and attempted to fire a Lodging, but the Match did not take. On the 16th the main Body of the Rebel Army marched for *Shap*, but the Rear Guard halted at a Farm four Miles from *Kendal*, to prepare small Carts for carrying their Ammunition, which could not be got forward over steep Hills, and thro' broken Roads, upon their four wheeled Waggons, that were mostly broken. Next Night they arrived at *Shap*, while the Bulk of the Rebels marched to *Penrith*, where in the Evening they were joined by the Rear Guard.

While General *Anstruther* is advancing from *Coventry* to *London* with the first Division of the Foot which composed his Royal,

Royal Highness's Army viz. Col. Sowle's and Skelton's Regiments, while M. Wade is marching his Troops in different Divisions towards Newcastle upon Tyne, and while the Army is forming upon the Kentish Coast, where a Descent was apprehended, our Deliverer indefatigable comes up with the Enemy upon the 18th at Night with his Cavalry, after an uninterrupted March of Ten Hours.

The Rebels being continually alarmed by the Approach of the light Horse, had sent a Party thro' Lord Lonsdale's Parks of Lowdar, thinking to find some of these, that had harrassed them, about his House, as he was Lord-Lieutenant of the County of Cumberland where they now were. Some of them were seen but these at so great a Distance to receive any Loss. In the Course of this Hunting, they took a running Footman belonging to his Royal Highness, and a Gentleman of the County whom they called an Officer, whose Name I could not learn. From these they were informed that the Duke was within a Mile of them, with about Four thousand Horse and Dragoons, besides light Horse and Militia. They immediately abandon Lowtherhall, judge it vain constantly to think of escaping so eager a Pursuer, and therefore resolve to make a Stand. Accordingly Lord George Murray, who always commanded the Rear-Guard, took Possession of a Village called Clifton a Mile to the North of Lord Lonsdale's Seat, upon the Highway to, and two Miles short of Penrith. He ordered Colonel John Stuart, commonly called Roy because of the Redness of his Hair, to the Bottom of the Muir, to the South of the Village, with his Regiment, as also Clunie Macperson with his Battalion, while the MacDonalds of Keppoch stood at a little Distance to wait the Event. They fortified themselves behind three Hedges and a Ditch. It was now about an Hour after Sun-set, when the King's Troops appeared upon the open Muir with their illustrious Leader. He directly ordered Three hundred of Colonel Honeywood's Dragoons to dismount, and march forward to attack the Enemy. They advanced to the very Brink of the Ditch, when the Rebels fired from behind the Hedges, and killed some few, this being observed, the Troops after firing some Platoons, which were not without Success, were ordered to retire some few Paces. The Enemy taking this for the Beginning of their Flight, crossed the Ditch with incredible Swiftness and rushed on with Pistol and Sword

in Hand, but were so well received, that some of them lay upon the Spot. The Dragoons, who had drawn their Swords, were now ready to pay them home in their own Coin. The Shouts begin, the Clashing of Swords is heard; some of the Rebel's Swords broke upon the Steel Caps, which the Cavalry commonly wear; whereupon they draw their Daggers, and fight with great Obstinacy; as some of them in the Dark were separated from their main Body, and had wounded some Officers, they inhumanely cut them down, crying, *No Quarter! Murder them.* Thus they continued for about an Hour, when observing the Resolution of the Forces, they return with as much Precipitation across the Ditch as at first they came on, and with full Speed carry the Consternation to Penrith, where the main Body of their Army with the Artillery and Baggage was arrived. Such was the Skirmish at Clifton, in which about twelve of the Dragoons were killed, and twenty-four wounded, among whom Col. Honeywood, Capt. East and the two Coronets, Owen and Hamilton. On the Side of the Rebels were slain about twenty Men and seventy taken Prisoners, among whom Captain George Hamilton of Red-house, a Gentleman who had spent his Substance with riotous Living, he was very strong and agile, but there meeting his Equals, he was much wounded; and has since been tried, convicted and condem'd at York, October 6th. As the Rebels who had not advanced carried off those of their killed and wounded on the other Side of the Ditch, the same could not be known; they gave out that they only lost twelve Men who run up the Muir; but whether to believe his Royal Highness, who wrote to his Majesty that 70 of them were taken Prisoners, besides those killed and wounded, or to credit them must be left to the Judgment of the impartial; the only Thing the Enemy had to boast of was, that they took some Broad-swords from the Dragoons, but upon Enquiry I find that these only amounted to seven, which were taken up by them, as they first leapt over the Ditch, when the Troops retired, or seized from the wounded Officers formerly named.

Being driven from the Village, and come to Penrith, a Council of War was held, where John Roy-Stuart was for marching back, and surprising the Troops in the Night Time or by Day-break next Morning, but Lord George Murray was not for diminishing their Forces by Skirmishes, but for pursuing their Rout

Rout and joining Lord *John Drummond*, who had landed from *Dunkirk* with a Regiment of Six hundred Men at *Monrose*, and was afterwards joined by a Body of desperate Persons, under Lord *Lewis Gordon*, a third Brother of George Duke of *Gordon*, the *Frazers*, under the Master of *Lovat*, *Farquharsons*, some *Mackenzies*, and *Mackintoshes*, in all about Three thousand Men; his Opinion prevailed. Next Day their whole Army marched for *Carlisle*, where they arrived at Night. His Royal Highness not being able to pursue his Advantage at *Clifton*, on the 18th, thro' Grounds covered with Snow, Roads broken with Ice, and Darkness, which was the greatest Difficulty, rested his Troops there that Night, in the Morning he set out, and with his whole Force entred *Penrith*, where were to be seen the Vestiges of the most unheard of Cruelty. Several Houses and Shops were broken, vast Quantities of Goods were carried off, or thrown into the Streets, spoil'd or destroy'd. From this dismal Scene, unable to behold the Devastation and Misery of the innocent Country, our Deliverer began his March on the 21st for *Carlisle*, which he reached about One o'Clock. The Day before the Enemy had abandoned the Place after changing their Garrison, and leaving in it about Four hundred Men, consisting chiefly of such, or rather the only English that joined them, and some few Scots under the Command of *John Hamilton*, the Duke of *Gordon's Factor*, with a proper Train of Artillery.

About Two o'Clock the Rebels came up to *Langton*, where they cross'd the *Esk*, which was then about Four Foot deep. The Cavalry entered the Water with the Hussars in the Front, and the Pretender in the Center, with a Boy belonging to *Keppoch* behind him; as he was passing two People were like to give Way, he immediately seized upon their Hair, and cried out in *Irish*, *Coaer, Coaer, Help, Help*; these were relieved. The Infantry marched into the River with Lord *George Murray* at their Head, kept hold of each other, and so arrived on the other Side. *Perth*, being better mounted than the rest, crossed the Water several Times on Horseback, and brought off a Person with him every Time he went. No sooner are they here than judging themselves free of Danger, they separated, one Party of Four thousand marched to *Annan* with the Pretender, and the other of Two thousand five hundred to *Ecclefechan*, where they rested. Lord *Elcho* was sent with

Five hundred Horse to *Dumfries*, where he levied the Excise, and imposed on the Town a Contribution of 2000*l.* in Specie, 1000 Pair of Shoes, seized nine Casks of Gun Powder, all Arms publick and private, Horses, Horse Furniture, Boots, &c. and being in Want of Necessaries, the Rebels stript People of their Body-cloaths and Shoes. Near 1100*l.* of Money was instantly paid. Provoost *Crosbie*, and Mr. *Walter Riddel* were carried off as Hostages both till the Remainder should be remitted, and for the Security of their Stragglers if they should come that Way. They ordered the Town's People to send their Baggage after them. In short, their Resentment against this Place for its Loyalty was detestable; Outrages of the worst Kind were committed against the Inhabitants, the Houses were plundered, private People were rob'd, and upon Complaint, they were only told, that they might be glad their Town was not laid in Ashes, considering they had entered into an Association against their Cause, and had seized their Waggons as above. The Damage done by these Excesses was computed at 4000*l.* that committed in the Country much greater. Next Day, the Pretender, the French Ambassador, *Perth*, *Locheil*, *Glanranald*, *Glengary*, *Keppoch*, &c. went by the Way of this pillaged Town, while Lord *Tullibardin*, Lord *George Murray*, Lords *Ogilvie* and *Nairn* took the *Moffat* Road. The main Body continued at *Dumfries* till the 23d, when they marched Westward, being informed that General *Guest* designed to hold out the City of *Edinburgh* against them till the Arrival of the Troops. As there were no other Towns to fleece till they reached *Glasgow*, so they with all possible Diligence advanced there. The Van entered that City upon the 25th, and the Body of their Army with the Pretender next Evening. Here they made vast Demands, as a Punishment for raising and arming a Regiment against their Leader. And now that I have ended this Winter Pursuit, I am as much delighted as if I had been a Partaker of it.

The Duke of *Cumberland* having chas'd them out of *England*, judged it proper to have *Carlisle* put again into the Hands of the King's Troops. The Town was surrounded on all Sides, at a Miles Distance, while Major-General *Bland* invested it on the Scots Side, with St. *George*'s Dragoons and Three hundred of *Bligh*'s Regiment, to prevent any Passage over the Bridge upon the *Eden*. Major *Adams* was posted with Two hundred Foot

in the Suburbs of the *English* Gate, Major *Meirac* at the *Irish* Gate, and Lieutenant Colonel Sir *Andrew Agnew*, at the Sally-port, with Three hundred. The Garrison fired upon all who came in View. Mr. *Towny*, to whom the Chevalier had given a Commission for raising a Regiment of Horse, being Commandant of the Place, directed and caused the Guns to be mounted upon the Walls, the Houses within Reach of the Batteries to be burnt, and several *Chevaux de Frize* to be made and fix'd at the Gates, and Entrances of the City, to prevent the Approach of the Horse. He was even for making Sallies upon the King's Troops, but still his Councils were opposed.

As his Royal Highness observed the Posture of the City, and that it might cost some Lives to take it by Assault, without Artillery proper for a Siege, he sent to *Whitheaven* for some Battering Pieces. Accordingly Four of 18 Pounders arrived upon the 24th, and Six of the same Size upon the 25th. No sooner are these come up than they began to erect Batteries, notwithstanding a continued fire from the Walls. Upon the 28th, one of six Pieces was finished, from which they play'd upon the four Gun Battery of the Town ; but on the 29th the firing ceased for Want of Shot, till towards Evening, when a fresh Supply arrived, and it was renewed with great Briskness for two Hours.

The Walls being much shaken, the Town's People appeared in the most supplicant Manner before the Commandant, and beseeched him to think of preserving their Lives. He went to Mr. *Hamilton* the Governor of the Castle and consulted what was proper to be done. A Capitulation was proposed, to which Colonel Hamilton agreed : Two Letters were immediately written, and a Man sent with them. He being brought to the Duke by an advanced Party, delivered two Letters, one for his Royal Highness, the other for the Commander of the *Dutch* Troops supposed to be with his Army, signed *Geshegan*, who stil'd himself " Commander of the *French* Artillery, and " of the *French* Garrison that was at or might come to " *Carlisle*, for Defence of the Town and Citadel." The Contents were, to summons the *Dutch* Officer to retire with his Troops from the *English* Army, under Pretence of the Capitulation of *Tournay* mentioned before.

The Night of the 29th was spent in raising a new Battery of three 18 Pounders; which was completed by the Morning.

But, on the first Platoon of the old Battery firing, the Rebels hung out the white Flag ; whereupon the firing ceased ; they called over the Walls, that they had two Hostages ready to be delivered at the *English Gate*, which is on the opposite Side of the Town. His Royal Highness then ordered Col. Conway and Lord Bury to go and deliver the two following Messages in Writing, to be signed by Col. Conway ; the second Message being designed as an Answer to the Person's Letter who called himself a *Frenchman*.

1. His Royal Highness will make no Exchange of Hostages with Rebels and desires they will let him know by me, what they mean by hanging out the white Flag.
2. To let the *French Officer* know, if there is one in the Town, that there are no *Dutch Troops* here, but enough of the King's to chastise the Rebels, and those who dare to give them any Assistance.

*Signed, COL. CONWAY,
Aid de Camp to his R. Highness the Duke.*

In about two Hours they returned and brought a Paper written as follows.

IN Answer to the short Note sent by his R. Highness Prince William Duke of *Cumberland*, the Governor, in Name of himself, and all the Officers and Soldiers, Gunners and others belonging to the Garrison, desire to know what Terms his R. Highness will be pleased to give them, upon Surrender of the City and Castle of *Carlisle* ; and which known, his R. Highness shall be duly acquainted with the Governor and Garrison's last or ultimate Resolution ; the white Flag being hung out on Purpose to obtain a Cessation of Arms for concluding such a Capitulation. This is to be given to his R. Highness's Aid de Camp.

JOHN HAMILTON.

Whereupon they were sent back with the Terms, sign'd by the Duke of Richmond, by Order of his Royal Highness, as contained in the following Declaration.

ALL the Terms his R. Highness will or can grant to the Rebel-Garrison of *Carlisle*, are, That they shall not be put to the Sword, but be reserved for the King's Pleasure.

If

If they consent to these Conditions, the Governor and principal Officers are to deliver themselves up immediately: and the Castle, Citadel, and all the Gates of the Town, are to be taken Possession of forthwith by the King's Troops. All the small Arms are to be lodged in the Guard-room; and the rest of the Garrison are to retire to the Cathedral: where a Guard is to be placed over them. No Damage is to be done to the Artillery, Arms, or Ammunition.

Head-quarters at Blackhall, Dec. 30. Half an Hour past Two in the Afternoon.

By his R. Highness's Command,

Signed, RICHMOND, LENOX, and AUBIGNY, Lieutenant-General of his Majesty's Forces.

About Four they brought the following Paper, signed also by *John Hamilton*.

The Governor of *Carlisle*, and haill Officers composing the Garrison, agree to the Terms of Capitulation given in, and subscribed, by Order of his R. Highness, by his Grace the Duke of Richmond, Lenox, and Aubigny, Lieutenant-General of his Majesty's Forces; recommending themselves to his R. Highness's Clemency, and that his R. Highness will be pleased to interpose for them with his Majesty; and that the Officers Cloaths and Baggage may be safe, with a competent Time to be allowed to the Citizens of *Carlisle* to remove their Beds, Bed-cloaths, and other Household-Furniture impressed from them for the Use of the Garrison in the Castle. *The 30th of December 1745, at Three o'Clock Afternoon.*

On which Brig. Bligh was ordered immediately to take Possession of the Town, and to have there that Night Four hundred Foot-guards, and Seven hundred Marching Foot, with One hundred and twenty Horse to patrole in the Streets.

Next Day the Duke entered the Town on Horse-back, with the Duke of Richmond on his Right, and the Earl of Albemarle on his Left Hand, a-midst the Bleisings of a rejoicing Multitude. The Nobility, who had come from all Quarters, and General Officers followed: He is no sooner in *Carlisle*, than immediately he walked round the Walls and reviewed the Fortifications. He desired to be brought to the House where his Brother Prince lodged; he lay in the same Bed; ordered such Things

as were forcibly or otherwise taken away, to be exposed to View, that every Person might receive their own, upon proving thier Property.

The Country around had conceived such Hopes of their Deliverer, that at his first Appearance before *Carlisle*, they flock'd in to supply his Troops with Provisions, Tools and other Necessaries; yea they contributed with their own Hands to advance the Works against the Town. They were enamoured to see the City restored to her King, to herself, and to them. But how much was the Pleasure augmented, to behold such surprising Goodness in *Britain's Darling*, as to fall upon a Method of restoring every Man his own! The Articles of Capitulation were all fulfilled; the Garrison was directly confined in the great Church; a List of their Names and Designations given in; but by a special Order were stript of nothing which they had; for, says our generous Deliverer, they will need these during their Confinement. The Officers were as follows.

English. 1 Colonel, *Francis Townly* of *Lancashire*.—5 Captains: *John Saunderson*, of *Northumberland*; *Peter Moss*, *James Dawson*, and *George Fletcher*, all of *Lancashire*: and *Andrew Blood*, of *Yorkshire*.—6 Lieutenants: *Thomas Deacon*, *John Berwick*, *Robert Deacon*, and *John Holker*, all of *Lancashire*; *Thomas Chadwick*, of *Staffordshire*; and *Thomas Furnival*, of *Cheshire*.—7 Ensigns: *Charles Deacon*, and *Charles Gaylor*, both of *Lancashire*; *John Hurter*, of *Northumberland*; *James Wilding*, *John Betts*, and *William Bradshaw*, all of *Lancashire*; and *Samuel Maddock*, of *Cheshire*.—1 Adjutant, *Thomas Syddell*, of *Lancashire*.—All of the *Manchester* Regiment.—93 Non-commission Officers, Drummers, and private Men.—*Tho. Coppock*, of *Lancashire*, made by the Pretender Bishop of *Carlisle*.

Scots. The Governor *John Hamilton*, *Aberdeenshire*.—6 Captains: *Robert Forbes*, *Aberdeenshire*, of Lord *Lewis Gordon's* Regiment; *John Burnet*, *Aberdeenshire*, of Col *Grant's*; *George Abernethy*, *Banffshire*, of Lord *Ogilvy's*; *Alexander Abernethy*, *Banffshire*, of the Duke of *Perth's*; *Donald Mac Donald*, *Invernesshire*, of *Keppoch's*; and *John Comrie*, *Braes of Athol*, of the Duke of *Athol's*.—7 Lieutenants: *Charles Gordon*, *Aberdeenshire*, of Lord *Ogilvy's* Regiment; *James Gordon*, *Aberdeenshire*, of Col. *Grant's*; *Walter Ogilvy*, *Banffshire*, of Ld *Lewis*

Lewis Gordon's; William Stuart, Banffshire, of Col. Roy Stuart's; two Alexander MacGrouthers, Perthshire, and James Nicolson, all of the Duke of Perth's. The last broke the Capitulation by endeavouring to make his Escape. — 3 Ensigns: *Walter Mitchel, and George Ramsay, both of Aberdeenshire, and of the Duke of Perth's Regiment; and James Menzies, St. German's, France, of Col. Roy Stuart's.* — 1 Surgeon, *James Stratton, Berwickshire.* — 256 Non-commission Officers, Drummers, and private Men.

Fregch. Sir Francis Geoghegan, a Captain of *Lally's Regiment*; Col. Strickland, of no Regiment; and Sir John Arbuthnot, a Captain of Lord Drummond's; all of *Tholouse*. — 1 Serjeant, *Pierre LaLocke, of Dieppe, of Lally's Regiment.* — 4 private Men, all of *Lally's Regiment*; *Francis Carpenter, of Dieppe; Pierre Bourgogne, of Tourrat; Jean Poussin, and Pierre Vickman, both of Dieppe.*

There were found here, 6 Brass Guns of one and an Half Pounders, 3 Brass Guns of four Pounders, one Brass Octagon, all with Carriages, 4 Brass Cohorns, and two Royals.

While his Royal Highness was here, *Carlisle* was crowded with Multitudes, who from all Quarters repaired to him. The City of *Edinburgh*, not wanting in her Loyalty, sent four Deputies, *viz.* Mr. *Patrick Haldane*, now *Solicitor for Scotland*, a Gentleman of great Learning and peculiar Address, *Baillie James Stuart, John Forrest Treasurer, and James Ker Goldsmith*, all Gentlemen well affected to his Majesty's Person and Government, to congratulate the Royal Youth on his Success, and to sollicite him to honour that City with a Visit, if he came to *Scotland*; they were introduced by Col. *William Maule, of Panmuir*; were received in the most tender and gracious Manner, and had the Honour to dine with him; he drank to the Prosperity of the Town, and expressed the deepest Sense of their Loyalty, and that of the adjacent Towns; but the most remarkable Thing was, Not one disrespectful Word dropt from his Mouth anent those who had created him so much Trouble: He only lamented (when speaking of the *Highlanders*) that so much Bravery should be misemployed. He continued till the 2d of *January*, that he set out for *London*, where his Presence was absolutely necessary to be near for curbing any Invasion that might be made by the natural Enemies

nemis of the British Isle, from whom a Descent was expected, notwithstanding the following Precautions.

On the 6th of December a Proclamation was issued out, for putting the Laws, particularly the Act of Parliament of the 27th Year of Queen Elizabeth, and another of the Third of King James I. and VI. in Execution against Jesuits and Popish Priests, and promising a Reward of 100*l.* for every such Person, after Conviction, within London, Westminster, the Burgh of Southwark, or within ten Miles round of these Places. Upon the 11th, a Priest, and his Landlord for harbouring him, were confined to Newgate for remaining in London beyond the Time appointed.

Upon the 12th Advice came that an Embarkation of Troops was carrying on with great Expedition at Dunkirk, that most of the Vessels to be employed were already there, that Furniture was put on board for 1000 Horse. A Proclamation was published on the 14th, commanding the proper Wardens, Sheriffs, Mayors, Lieutenants, and Justices of the Peace, &c. to cause the Coasts to be carefully watched, and all Cattle, and every other Thing that might be serviceable for the Enemy after landing, to be removed. Alarm Posts were appointed; the several Guards were ordered to be in Readiness to march upon the first Notice of any Tumult or Insurrection in London or Westminster; the Signal was, firing seven Half-minute Guns at the Tower, which were to be answered by the like Number from St. James's Park; and on the contrary; on hearing of which Signals, every Officer and Soldier of the six Regiments of the City Militia, and the two Regiments of the Tower Hamlets, were to repair with their Arms and a sufficient Quantity of Powder and Ball, to their respective Places of Rendezvous, on Pain of being punished as Deserters. Signals were also settled on the Coasts of Sussex, and Kent, whether 4000 Foot and 2500 Horse were sent. The same was done upon those of Essex and Suffolk, whether 3000 Foot and 1000 Horse repaired, by putting out Flags in the Day-time, and Lights on the Tops of the Steeples and Castles in the Night, so as Notice of an Invasion would be at the Tower and St. James Park in a few Hours. The Lords of the Admiralty ordered all the Men of War at Portsmouth to put to Sea, and took up 50 Merchantmen to be armed for cruising in the Channel.

Admiral

Admiral Vernon, whose Name had made so great a Figure for some Time, Commodores *Boscawen* and *Smith*, were already at Sea, each with a strong Squadron. The *Dover* Privateers had voluntarily gone to the Admiral, in order to receive and follow his Instructions; on which he wrote them a Letter from on board the *Norwich* in the *Downs*, dated *December 10th*, wherein, after his hearty Thanks for the Expressions of their laudable Zeal for the Service of their King and Country, against the inveterate Enemies of our Religion, Liberties and Laws, assures them that he will take Care to reward every one's Services, and endeavour to procure from the Crown an ample Consideration for their Zeal.

Upon the 12th, two of these *Dover* Ships fell in with eight Transports, bound for *Dunkirk* from *Boulogne*, under Convoy of a French Man of War of 22 Guns, to take Troops on board; they seized three of them, and sent one of them that Night to the Admiral, in the *Downs*, and the other two to *Dover* next Morning. They fell in upon the 19th with about 60 Sail, mostly fishing Boats and small Vessels from *Dunkirk*, bound as they supposed for *Calais* or *Boulogne*, to take in Troops, drove seventeen of them on Shore near *Calais*, blew up one, sunk two, and brought three away, two of which were carried into *Dover*, but the third was lost in that Bay. The whole of these Vessels had some warlike Stores on board, such as small Cannon, Powder, Ball, Horse Colours, Cloaths, Bedding for Soldiers, and Poles about seven Foot long, spiked with Iron at both Ends. Two of less Value, from *Rosia* to *Boulogne*, were afterwards sent in.

Upon the 19th, his Majesty sent a Message to both Houses of Parliament, that he had undoubted Intelligence of the Preparations at *Dunkirk*, and other French Ports, for invading his Kingdom; that already a Person (Lord *John Drummond*, a Brother German of *Perth's*) had actually landed in *Scotland*, and emitted a Declaration (dated at *Montrose*, 2d *December*) that he was come with written Orders from the French King to make War upon his Majesty, and all those who would not assist the Prince Regent (meaning the Pretender) in the Recovery of *Scotland*, *England* and *Ireland*, whose undoubted Title (adds Mr. *Drummond*) he with the Concurrence of the King of *Spain* is resolved to support, at the Expence of all the Men and Money he is Master of; and that his Majesty had ordered into

this Kingdom, the 6000 *Hessian* Troops taken into *British* Pay, 11th June last, by virtue of a Treaty with the King of *Sweden*, as *Landgrave of Hesse Cassel*, the better to prevent the Invasion, and suppress the Rebellion, and concludes with declaring, he has no Doubts of their enabling him to make good that Agreement, and concur with him in such Measures as may best defeat the Attempt.

A Copy of the Treaty was laid before them : An Address was afterwards drawn up, thanking his Majesty for communicating to them the Advices he had received, for his Paternal Care in providing for the Security of his People, by directing the *Hessians* to be brought into the Kingdom, and assuring him of their making good the Expence incurred on that Account, and of their readiness with their Lives and Fortunes to support his sacred Person and Government ; their Detestation and Abhorrence of the impious Design were likewise expressed.

On the 20th, the Country was alarmed by a Letter from Admiral *Vernon* from on Board the *Norwich* in the *Downs*, to *John Norris Esquire* at *Dale Castle*, or to the Mayor of *Deal* in his Absence, informing, that great Numbers of small Im- barkations were brought from *Dunkirk*, that several of them were laden with Cannon, Powder, Shot and other Military Stores ; that the *Irish* Troops had marched to *Calais* from *Dunkirk*, where General Count *Lowendahl* and many other Officers, were with a young Person said to be the Pretender's second Son ; and advising to assemble the Nighbouring Towns for their Defence, and promising on his Part the Cruisers Signals for discovering the Approach of the Enemy, viz. the Jack Flagg flying at the Top-mast Head, and firing a Gun every half Hour.

This Letter was published by the Deputy Lieutenants of *Kent*, a warm Invitation was given for all within 20 Miles of the Sea-coast, to stand up in Defence of their King and Country, to appear in Arms upon the 22d on Horse-back in *Swinfield Minns*, and to bring two Days Provision for Subsistence. The adjacent Parishes according to Desire, to the Number of 2000 others say 4000 brought Pick-axes, Shovels and other necessaries.

Notwithstanding of the several Advices, which the Government received of the Designs of *France*, several People were

of Opinion, that the Preparations about *Dunkirk*, and some Nighbouring Sea-port Towns were only to amuse: What made them more positive, was, that Captain *Gregory* of the *Norwich*, who had been sent to take a View of what was doing at *Dunkirk*, reported about this Time, that there were but five or six Vessels in the Road, and very few in the Harbour. Commodore *Knowles* also informed the Admiralty, that he had stood within half a Mile of the Piers Head at *Boulogne*, and within two or three of *Calais*, that in the Harbour of the former, there were not sixty of all Kinds, the largest of them a Galliot Hoy, whose Gaff was much higher than any of the other Vessels Mast-heads; and that there was not a single one which had a Top-sail-yard rigged aloft: that in the Pier of the latter, there were three or four Top-sail Vessels, the rest being only Galliots or Fishing Boats to the Number of thirty; from these Reports, one may judge, whether the Fears of a *French* Landing, were ill or well founded; which ever was the Case, certain it is, that the Enemy, on hearing how the Scale was turned, gave over their Alarms.

For 1^{mo}, The Troops were conveniently cantoned along the Coast; our Deliverer was now returned from the Chace. On the Morning of the 5th being *Sunday*, he arrived at St. James's from *Carlisle* in perfect Health, was at Chapel, and afterwards in the Drawing-room, and did not appear in the least fatigued, tho' he had not been in Bed for three Days, his Countenance was as Vigorous and Lively, as if he had not gone thro' a Winter Campaign, in the midst of Snow, Ice and other Hardships. The whole Court appeared very gay on the Occasion, and every one seemed to take a particular Pride in paying their Compliments to him. In the Afternoon, the Duke of *Richmond*, and some other Officers followed.
 2^{do}, The Troops commanded by his Royal Highness were flush't with Success, and ready to march where Occasion offered, besides, these Forces were already known to the *Messieurs*; for under the Eye of their Royal General, they had performed Wonders, and breathing the Spirit of true Patriots, wanted nothing so much, as to come to Blows with those People, whose Weapons are Ambushes, Mines, and masked Batteries: Those brave Troops were composed of the following Regiments, Lieutenant Generals, *Ligoneir*, *Richmond*,

Sinclair

Sinclair and Albemarle, Major Generals, Howard, Skelton and Bland, Brigadeirs, Semple, Bligh and Douglas, Artillery, Lessly, Bernard and Roper's, Brigad Majors, Collonel Sowle and Johnson, besides Gower's, Montagues, Hallifax, Granbys, Chalmondeleys, new raised Regiments of Foot, each consisting of 824, Montague's and Kingston's new levied Horse, containing each 273 Men, together with Major General Oglethorpe's Body of 1000 Horse, with which he had been detached from General Wade, who was no sooner at Newcastle, than he sent a Body of 1000 of his best Infantry, and 500 Horse to the Assistance of the Duke's Army: 3^{to}, The great Unanimity of the Country in general to oppose their Designs. The Harmony which at that Time subsisted, was visible among all Ranks, as was the obliging Deportment of the Officers and Soldiers, but particularly of his Royal Highness, who when the Respite from Business would allow, never failed to acknowledge the Services done by his Father's Subjects. Two Instances of which I shall give, the first may be had in a Letter, from Sir Everard Fawkenar Secretary, to the Gentlemen and Inhabitants of the Town of Whitehaven, wherein by the Command of his Royal Highnes he informed them, that the Duke had with the greatest Satisfaction, observed their commendable Zeal, for which he returned his hearty Thanks, in sending up the Artillery and Ammunition, for the Siege of Carlisle. The second, as the Duke of Portland had raised some few Men, who frequently kept off Parties of the Rebels from entering Penrith, Care was even taken by the Hero, to express his grateful remembrance of their Conduct. — 4^{to}, That their Prospect of landing was most precarious; for now Admiral Vernon was at Sea with a very strong Fleet, viz. eleven Ships of the Line, from 70 to 16 Guns, 15 small Tenders, Privateers and Custom House Sloops, leaving proper Squadrons under the respective Commanders, at the several Places, where Attacks were feared. — 5^{to}, That not only the Seas were covered with Ships, and the Coast guarded by the Numerous Forces of Great Britain; but likewise several Protestant Courts of Europe and others, had signified publickly their Abhorrence of the Design. Christian VI. of Denmark, when assured of it, offered not only the 12,000 Troops in British Pay, but also all the Forces he had, if they could be conveniently carried

over

over. The old but illustrious King of *Sweden*, tho' his Power be too much controuled, by a People who run from the Extream of an absolute Monarchy, to the most licentious Liberty, declared his Detestation of the impious Attempt, contrary to the Faith of Treaties, and actually let out the Troops of his Langravate in Support of Our King. The Empress of *Russia*, though raised to the Throne, by the Intrigues of the House of *Bourboun*, openly avowed her Amazement at the audacious Enterprise, and proffered a Quota of Troops to be employed, as the Court of *Great Britain* should direct; yea the present King of *Prussia*, though frequently so docile to the Court of *Versailles*, as to march his Army at her Command, and receive his 1,400000 Florins for Mustering his Men, gave out that if the base Project was pursued, his whole Army was at the Service of his Royal Uncle: For which Purpose he clapt up a Peace with the Emperor, in order to be at the more Liberty to act. For these and other Reasons, *France* left *England* in full Possession of her Peace, having nothing upon Hand, but to extinguish the Rebellion now driven into *Scotland*, where several Vicissitudes of good and bad Fortune, in the Chevalier's Absence, had attended the Royal Cause.

The Rebels had no sooner left the City of *Edinburgh*, than immediately the Oeconomy of the Town was restored, as much as possible, considering there was no regular Magistracy; for on the Day of Election, none would take the Charge, as the Place was then in the Hands of the Enemy. The City Guard put on their Military Clothes, the wealthy Inhabitants, no longer in Dread of their Lives and Effects, repaired to the Metropolis; the Ministers of the Gospel returned, the silent Sabbaths cease, and Sermon begins in the Churches, after a Stop from the 22d *September*. They are no sooner here, than an unfeigned Zeal appears. With Flows of Eloquence, and Streams of Perswasion, they recommended Loyalty to their King, a Regard for their Country, Liberties and Laws; and not only did they excite by Precept but taught by Example; for as the Subscribers to the Fund for raising a Thousand Foot, for his Majesty's Service and Defence of the City, met upon the 20th *November*, to consult anent continuing of it, they were among the first to appear.

pear. A new Subscription was immediately opened, Persons by Advertisement were invited to sign it. In a short Time, Money was given in, the Drums beat thro' the City for Recruits, and such as had listed formerly, but had been obliged to disband on account of the Rebels, were now desired to repair to their Duty, when they should enter into the Pay of 4 £. per Week without Discount. About 400 Men engaged in a very little Time, and were daily trained in the Parliament and College Close, by such as had Skill; the Nomination of the Officers, was committed to some leading Men in the Place, but these were not always well directed in their Choice; for having some Friends to provide; they refused such as had a College Education, as much Knowledge, as well affected to the Government, but more Strength and Agility, than those they preferred.

The Masters of the University returned; the most of whom began to teach their respective Classes on the 21st, being now secure from Disturbance, and under the Shelter of a Military Force. For protecting the Laws and ballancing the Weight of the Rebels, Lieutenant General *Roger Handasyde*, now Commander in Chief of his Majesty's Troops, Garrisons and Forts in Scotland, had arrived from Berwick upon the 14th, with Colonel *Price* and *Ligoneirs* Regiments of Foot, General *Hamilton* and the late Colonel *Gairdner's* Dragoons; the Night they entered was one of the most boisterous that has been observed, and prov'd Fatal to several Ships, among whom the *Fox* Man of War, which with her Crew perished in the Storm, her Wreck sometime after was thrown in about *Dunbar*, where were found, and decently interred, the Corps of Captain *Baver*, who had so well defended the Passage to *Kinghorn* during the Stay of the Rebels in the *Lothians*.

The Judicatures of the Church now were opened; for upon the 4th November the Reverend Synod of *Lothian* and *Tweeddale* met as usual, their Moderator was continued, an Address was drawn up to the King in very Loyal Terms by a Committee, who returned their hearty Thanks to the Generals *Guest* and *Preston*, for their Vigilance in Time of Danger. The remainder of their Meeting was spent in Prayer.

The Commission of the General Assembly sat upon the 13th; the first Thing they did was to appoint a Committee

tee to draw up an Address to his Majesty, and a Warning to the People, in which they pointed out the insidious Promises of the Pretender, the Arbitrary Measures of levying Money under Pain of Military Execution, even while courting a Crown ; the Gruelties of the former Reigns of those he called his Ancestors, were laid open, the Truth of this being a Popish Maxim was asserted, viz. *To keep no Faith with Hereticks,* the Constitution was vindicated from the Aspersions thrown upon it, and Obedience to his Majesty recommended. The Paper was read publickly in all the Churches of the Kingdom, and enforced with the warmest Exportations, some inferior Judicatures, as the Synod of Glasgow and Ayr, the Presbytery of Dumferline, issued out Papers of the same Kind.

That very Day the Lords of Justiciary attended, by the Gentlemen Free-holders of the Counties of *Merge, East and Mid Lothians*, entered the City on Horse-back, passed thro' the High-street, then crowded with the principal Inhabitants ; the late Magistrates met them at the Cross, when loud Huzzas ensued on Sight of the lovely Appearance ; A sincere Joy was in almost every Countenance, on beholding the Guardians of Liberty, and Dispensers of Justice : They proceeded to the Parliament Close, where they alighted, and were saluted by a Round from the great Guns of the Castle, the Musick Bells all the Time playing Tunes suitable to the Occasion. They afterwards assembled in the Parliament House, where the Lord Justice Clerk spoke in very moving Terms, viz. *That he and his Bretheren conscious of their Duty to their King, their Country, and themselves, laid hold of the first Opportunity of returning to the Capital, to endeavour with their Help, to restore Peace, and revive the Civil Government : to shew to the World, how little Acceſſion the South Parts of Scotland had to the recent Calamities, from which they were lately delivered ; that Marshal Wade had ordered a Body of Troops to march, for Protection of this City, and the adjacent Country from Insults.—That if the present Troubles did not subſide, Provision should be made against any future Disturbance ;—To propose recommending to the Heritors of every Parish, to make up Lists of the able bodied Men, in their respective Lands proper to be entrusted with Arms, to deliver these to their respective Sheriffs, to be transmitted by them to the Persons appointed by his*

Majesty

Majesty for that Purpose. — To apply to the Reverend Ministers of the established Church; for their Assistance in that Affair; he condoled the Case of the Citizens, and their Want of a regular Government, and concluded with assuring them of his and his Brethrens Assistance for preserving the Tranquillity of the Place.

The Noblemen, viz. the Earl of Hume and Lord Belhaven, the Gentlemen and others present, rejoicing at this Glimpse of Quiet, on the Anniversary of its Restoration, thirty Years before, immediatly set about observing the Methods his Lordship had laid down. Application was made to the different Presbyterys in these Counties, for their Assistance in giving in the Lists; their Proposals were relished with Pleasure; never was greater Loyalty to be observed among the Members of the Church, some by their private Interest, others by heading their Parishes; acting the Soldier for a Time, while almost all discovered their Affection to our Constitution, by representing publickly, the true Interest of their Country, in a just and amiable Light: Thus the Clergy continued to act, till 18th December, which by a Royal Proclamation, dated November 12th, was kept as a Day of Fasting and Humiliation, for obtaining the Pardon of Sin, and imploring the Divine Blessing upon the Means that might be used for extinguishing the unnatural Insurrection. That Day and upon other Occasions, such Sermons were preached, as do Honour to their Country. The admirable Discourse of the learned and excellent Mr. Robert Wallace one of the Ministers of Edinburgh, on Monday the 6th January, will perpetuate the clear and distinct Sentiments of that good and great Man, to the most distant Times, and when read, may tend to convince Rebels of their fatal Delusion; the Press was crowded with Papers to confute the Pretender's Declarations, and Nothing was omitted to draw People off the destructive Project.

The Efforts of the Ministers were crowned with Success, several unhappy Men were hindred from engaging in their own and the Ruin of their Country; and Multitudes prevailed with to rise in its Defence. The Country People embraced every Occasion of seizing upon Stragglers, and bringing in Prisoners, or giving Notice to the Military where suspected Persons were to be found. Two Officers of the Name of MacPherson, were upon the 7th November made Prisoners at

at Bathgate, and sent to the Castle of Blackness ; and an Officer of the Customs of that Tribe, was taken up here ; on the 12th, Donald Macdonald of Kinloch-Moyart was seized by the Country People at Lismahagee, several Papers were found on him, among which was a Letter dated October 27th from Holyroodhouse, directed to him, from Mr. Secretary Murray, desiring he would give out that Sir Alexander MacDonald and the MacLeods, were on their March to join his Royal Highness's, (i. e. the Pretender's) Army ; and beseeching him to hasten his Pace. That Day Spalding of Whitefield, an Officer in the Battallion of Athol Men, on his Return with Dispatches from the North, was secured. Numbers of others fell into the Hands of the Militia, who were directly taken up, examined and confined : And on the 30th November, Sir Alexander Dalnaboy, and several others, were made Prisoners. Their Baggage met sometimes with the same Fate ; for on the 7th and 9th December, three Cart Load of Firelocks and other Arms, were taken and brought to the Castle, which was now become the Habitation of those lately mentioned, and others of their Party.

The Militia of Argileshire were now called to the Service of the Government, the Act of Parliament, against any Number of Highlanders rising in Parties, was suspended, and happy had it been for the Pretender and his Associates, that the same had sooner been done ; but then the Councils of the House of Burbon, had not been so totally dashed : Arms and warlike Stores were shipt off from Liverpool for their Use. Major General Campbell of Mammore set out from London, to take upon him the Command of these Levies. That Nobleman had landed with his Regiment on the 4th November in the Thames from Flanders, as did those of Lieutenant General Handaside, Brigadiers Skelton, Bligh, Mordaunt and Semple, with the Highlanders. Each of these from the Moment of their Arrival, were taken up about the Service of the Government, but none more than this Officer, who, to raise Troops to fight the Rebels with their own Weapons, arrived at Inverara December 21st, with a Commission to raise 3400 Men. The Levies went on most successfully, the Gentlemen of the County sent in Lists of the Militia in their respective Lands, to the Sheriff Depute ; from these the Quota was draughted : their

their Pay was regulated thus, the private Men had the full, but the Officers only the half; a considerable Number of them was stationed at *Inverara*, which they fortified against Attempts; about 300 of these attacked a Squade of the *MacGre-gors*, whom they soon put to Flight, killing two and taking seven Prisoners. A vast Corps was quartered at *Campbletown* in *Kintire*, both to prevent any Invasion from *Ireland*, and to be in readiness to march against the disaffected Clans, scattered tip and down the County, if they should arise; Garrisons were put into the Castles along the Coast, while the remainder only waited an Opportunity of marching to join the regular Troops.

And here a particular Account of these People might be expected; but as the Genealogy of the Family of *Argile* is set down in Books, which are in every Persons Hands, I shall be very short upon the Subject, only observe, that the *Camp-bells* by espousing the Cause of *David Bruce*, against *Edward Balliol*, have been the most Instrumental of any Family in *Scotland*, in settling the *Steuarts* upon the Throne, contrary not only to the Noble Family of the *Cummings*; but even the general Voice of the Nation at that Time, *Bruce's* Friends and Name not excepted, *Buch. Book 9 Chap. 18.* And as this Step so far discovers, that the lineal Heir was not al-wise preferred to the Crown; or, at least was not always successful, so it shews the Clan *Odiun* (suppose the Cheva-lier's Claim to be good, which is utterly denied) pursue no new Scheme; in the Part they have acted. They continued most Loyal to the several Kings; they got the Lands, of the Neighbouring Clans, as a Gift from the Crown, for sup-pressing their Rebellions; these through Foolishness having forfeit-ed their Possessions, did not consider their Misfortune was owing to themselves, but imputing the whole to the *Campbells*, have conceived a Resentment against them, rather to be imagined than expressed; after a Course of uninterrupted Loyalty, from the Reign of *Malcolm Canmore* till the Days of *James IV.* *Colin* was created first Earl of *Argyle*. He faithfully served his Mas-ter, and died at *Flowdown* with him; I need not speak of the famous Marquis, who was beheaded for his Attachment to the Covenant, and for keeping up an Agreement with the English Parliament, which People bred in the Principles of Arbitrary Power call Rebellion. Nor do I incline to mention

his Son, who persecuted the Conventiclers with so much Heat, that sometimes his casting Vote proved fatal to their Teachers ; of which, to his Commendation be it spoken, he repented in his dying Moments ; what may one say of the variable Genius of a Tyranical Government ? He who for many Years served the Court with great Fidelity, lost his Head for the Crime of almost the whole Episcopal Clergy, *viz.* refusing the Test in the manner it was imposed ; his Son the first Duke of Argyle, was a great Man, his Grandchild still greater, and was once the Instrument of our Deliverance, and now this present Duke shines among the Great, possessing the Excellence of Wisdom ; He was at *Edinburgh* in the Month of *July 1745*, whence he went to the West Highlands, but hearing of the Insurrection, judged it proper to go no further than *Roseneath*, however he had an early Account of the Intention of the Chevalier, which he communicated as well to the Regency at *London*, as to the Officers of the Crown here ; both these gave too little Notice to it, like the Magistrates of *Thebes*, who despised the Intimation of the Arrival of *Pelopidas* and the other Exiles, or like *Archias* who when receiving a Letter from a Priest of his Name at *Athens*, disclosing the Design, put the same under a Pillow, till their Feast was over ; and then they were removed to the other World : I would not be understood, to reflect upon the Regency, or yet these in Power here, nor would I incline to compare them to the *Spartan* Tyrants, who usurped a lawless Power, which they exerted in as lawless a Manner. I have only set this down, to shew, that the wisest of Men cannot always be on their Guard, that the best founded Establishment, cannot be too secure, and that in the Course of Human Affairs, the meanest Instruments, are sometimes made Use of, to bring about the greatest Ends.

Unacquainted with the Highlanders, they despised the Accounts of them, till almost too late, that the former invited him to come to the Privy Council, and desired his Advice, which he readily gave, and wrote to the principal Gentlemen of his Name, to raise the Clan, who, being for the most part bred in the last Revolution Principles, soon obeyed, and wholly devoted to the support of the Union, which has prov'd more advantageous to them, than the vast Tract of Territory they possess. They immediately take Arms, raise those Subordinate

dinate to them, and seize such as they suspected ; among whom Sir James Campbell of Auchinbreck, who was confined to the Castle of Dumbarton. That Gentleman had in the Time of the Tory Ministry 1713, opposed his Chief at the Election for the Shire of Argyle, for which he lost his Countenance, and the Umbrage continues with the present Lord. Those of the Offspring of Baron Guinach, the first of the Race, well knowing, that a Change would dispossess them of their Lands, directly engage pro Aris & focis. I had occasion to be well acquainted with those of that Name, and to observe in them a certain Coolness of Temper, which gives them a great Superiority over the Nighbouring Clans ; they know their Interest too well, not to treat Strangers with great Civility, and frequently to do real good Offices to them. By their Marriages with the Nighbouring Clans, some Grains of their Genius creep in among them ; but good Policy and Decency always bears the Ascendant in their Minds ; they have a Spirit either for Letters or for War, so that the Campbells may be called the Western Highlanders refined, though it must be owned, that such of that Name as are foolish, degenerate into the most unaccountable Extravagance, in this resembling a Tower, the Greatness of whose Fall is proportioned to its Height.

And not only did these Highlanders shew their Affection to their King and Country, but the Western Counties followed their Example, by evidencing an uncommon Zeal for support of their Religion and Liberties ; the City of Glasgow raised a Regiment on her own Expence, which was provided with Arms from the Castle of Edinburgh, in the same manner as regular Troops, and put under the Command of the Earl of Hume. The little Town of Paisly having tasted the Fruits of Trade, and Advantages of a Threed Manufactory, levied a Corps of 70 Men whom she maintained, in Defence of the Constitution. The Shire and Town of Renfrew, from much the same Motives, armed in Defence of the Cause, under the Earl of Glencairn ; in a Word, the whole Western Parts veyed with each other, in exerting their Power for protecting their Religion. The Lords formerly named, marched to Stirling, whence they were ordered to secure the several Passages of the Forth. Thus the whole Southern, Eastern and Western Parts of Scotland, shewed their Loyalty to their King, and a Sense

of their Blessings under the Mild Administration, while the Northern Storm is raging beyond the *Forth*, and several unhappy People carried down the Stream of Rebellion.

For now the *French* dropped in upon the North, with their Privateers, and were received in too affectionate a manner. In some Places of *Buchan*, the very Boys wore white Cockades, and martialed themselves in Companys; while those of riper Years declared for the Pretender; the vast tract of Ground from *Forth* to *Spey* being in the Hands of the Enemy, Excesses of the worst Kind were committed upon the innocent Inhabitants; several Noblemen and Gentlemens Seats were plundered of what was valuable, their best Effects were either carried off or destroyed, their dwelling Houses were even turned into Dens. In the County of *Angus*, their Cruelty was great, about 5000*l.* was levied, under Pain of Military Execution; and the Cess was laid on in the most undue Proportion; *Perth*, *Dundee* and the Country around, was one Scene of Horror and Oppression, Robberies were constant, even in the publick Streets, and in open Day. The Families of Distinction left their own Houses, to be free from the Sight of the horrible Devastation; Men were even pressed under Pain of being burnt in their own Habitutions.

The Shire of *Fife* remarkable for her Martial Heroes of old, and her industrious Inhabitants at present, was visited by them; for on the 27 December, a Party of Highlanders and *French*, under Major *Nairn* came to *Dumferling*, where they raised the Cess, and committed several Excesses, as they had done at *Aloa* before; not content with the Publick Money, they assed, several Gentlemen in considerable Sums, which they raised without Regard to Circumstances. The little Shire of *Kinross* consisting of about four Parishes and an half, shared the Fate of her populous Sister; for the same Squade had come there, demanded a whole Years Cess, all such as had any way favoured the Government, were severely cashier'd; the Friends of a Poor Carrier were forced to pay 13 Guineas, for none other Reason, but because he had carried one Captain *Reynolds* a *French* Officer, on Board one of his Majesty's Ships of War; the People were obliged to bring in their best Horses, Guns, Swords and Pistols, and make Faith on the same. They carried off about forty Horses with all their

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Furniture, they compelled the Country People to carry into Perth, 100 Bolls of Meal, and 500 Load of Coals, plighted the Honour of the Commanding Officer for Payment ; but alas ! he failed ; for the Workmen returned without so much as their Sacks. A few Days after, another Party under the Earl of *Cromarty*, came down, they acted in the most shocking Manner, a Sum of 1125 £. was demanded of the County, and Orders for Payment thereof, directed to the several Proprietors, sign'd *Cromarty* : However the Money was not uplifted, though indeed some Houses were pillaged, the Possessors abused, threatned with Burnings, and all the other dismal Effects of a Military Law. The same Things might be said of the Places around, but this may serve for a glaring Example.

What made the Rebel Party in the North more formidable, was, that Lord *John Drumond* had landed from *Dunkirk* on the 30th November at *Montrose*, with 15 Pieces of Cannon, some of which were 18 Pounders, and 600 Men, Several of whom, being forced into the *French Service*, embraced the first Opportunity of deserting. However for some Time they made the poor Country feel to their Smart, that an Enemy was in her Bosom ; the People were obliged to bring in their Horses, and carry their Artillery, some Pieces of which took about twenty Horses to draw them ; their Provision, Ammunition, and other Necessaries were also transported by them, without the least Compensation ; the Corps separated into different Parties, and were cantoned in the Towns along the Coast, while the main Body repaired to *Perth*, where was the grand Camp of the Rebels. There they fortified themselves, and planted their Artillery so conveniently, that to force them, would have proved a difficult Task. The Numbers of these who landed, were so much magnified, that some raw unexperienced Youths, run headlong into their own Ruin, and embarked in the Scheme, among whom, was Lord *Lewis Gordon*, whom the Pretender left behind him, for securing the Landings from *France*. He had got together a Body of desperate Persons, most Part of his own Name, who being ignorant of the Interest of their Country, a Disease common to the People of the North from *Spey* to *Tay*, soon engaged in the Cause of the Chevalier. This Lord *Lewis* either

either not judging his Force sufficient to advance the Interest of his new Master, or equal to what might be expected from one of his Birth, or lastly, that the Contingent of Troops he had to join Collonel *Drummond*, did no way answer the Expectation of the French from the *Gordon's*, who are generally of the *Roman Communion*, acted contrary both to the Law of Nature and Nations, using the worst of Means to augment his Corps. Every Person in the Shire of *Aberdeen* worth 8*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* Sterling of valued Rent, was ordered under Pain of Military Execution, to pay 5*l.* Sterl. or furnish an able bodied Man; several unfortunate People otherwise peaceable came in, his Body of Troops soon was augmented to 500 Men, while several others chus'd to pay the exorbitant Demand, so that in a little Time he raised about 1300*l.* Sterl. But some few in *Aberdeen* Shire were not sngle to espouse the Popish Cause, for the Earl of *Cromarty* with a considerable Body of the *Mackenzies* to the Number of 300, had advanced to the Head Quarters at *Perth*, about 300 of the *MacIntoshs*, 120 *Farghuarsons* (a Branch of the *Catti*) likewise came in; such a powerful Party appearing under the Viscount of *Strathallan* in the North for the Pretender, at last prevail'd on the *Frasers*, to throw off the Mask, and espouse that Interest, which some Time past, as it would seem, they had resolved. Their present unhappy Lord remarkable for the several strange Accidents of his Life, had formed one of the most political Schemes that can enter into the Heart of Man to contrive, he had married the Laird of *Grant's* Daughter the Mother of this present Mr. of *Lovat*, by which he secured the Interest of that Clan, and since he has joined with a Sister of the present General *Campbel*. At the Time of raising the independent Highland Companies, a Captain's Commission was conferred on old *Simon*, who behaved very ungenerously with those People, that listed with him. He would muster up some few of his Tenants, whom he caused exercise, and remitted to them some Trifle of the Cane or Carriage Service for which they were at his Beck to make their Appearance at the Publick Reviews. As some Matters of State prevailed with some to take to themselves the specious Name of Patriot 1741, the elder *Lovat* must see for some of the Popular Applause; at the Election in *Inverness*, he threw up his Patent of Sheriff Princi-

pal, and so kept himself free as it were from meddling in a Matter wherein his Brother in Law the Laird of *Grant*, and his Cousin the Laird of *MacLeod* were Candidates; tho' he secretly or rather openly (if he acts so at any Time) sided with the latter; here *Simon the Patriot* shines! the short sighted Clans, whose Giddiness will not so much as allow them to see the very Outside of an Object clearly, attributed *Simons* Neutrality to his Foresight of a Change, not only in the Ministry, but even in the Constitution it self; the *Camerons* and *MacDonalds* of *Keppoch* are his Neighbours, *Clunie MacPherson* was married to his Daughter; all of these had Acces to him, and would sometime talk very freely with him, which by an insinuating Way he encouraged them to do; he digged in an easy Mine, and whatever things they advanced, he was sure indirectly, perhaps by a Smile, a Gesture, a Glass, or some such Way, to relish; he would be very ready to feed their Superstition, and work them up to a Belief of Improbabilities; he had a way of tracing Genealogies, without descending upon the remarkable Events of the Rebellions of these People; he would tell them Stories of *Killiecrankie*, *Dunkeld* and *Cromdale*, magnify the Actions of their Ancestors to the Skys; he would say such a Sword and Target, *your honest Grandfather wore that Day*, and would entertain them with interpreting Prophecies and Dreams, &c. I knew a Gentleman of the Name of *Campbel*, who dreamed something very strange in Time of the Rebellion 1715, relating to the Government, which he communicated to some People; the Story run up and down, and came at last to the Ears of Lord *Lovat*, upon whom it made no very great Impression till about 21 Years afterwards, that he wrote a Letter to the Gentleman's elder Brother, for a Copy of it. He would interpret it to the Satisfaction of the Clans, so much as to inflame their Inclinations to Arms, and stir up their Spirits to rebel: He was Master of all the Visions and Traditions of the credulous People that had lived in the Country for many Years. He would mention the Exploits of the *Scots Men* in *France* and else where, unriddle the Prophecies of *Thomas Learmont* and many others, too tedious here to mention; so that tho' whatever Part he acted openly in the late impious Rebellion, Time must discover, as he is at present a Prisoner in the Tower of

London

London, yet without Doubt, by such Methods as these lately mentioned and others of the same Kind, he has promoted the Attempt more than any Man in the *British* Dominions ; and now from his Conduct it would appear, that the Thred of his Policy was spun too fine, so that it fail'd at last in the Makers Hand.

The Clan of this subtle Lord, so remarkable for their great Atchivements in former Times while in *Tweedale*, and since *Bruce's* Days, inhabiting their present Possessions, which that Prince conferred on them, at first marched under Pretence of seeking some Cattle which had been stollen out of the *Aird*, all at once divert their Course to *Fort Augustus*, in order to seize upon the Soldiers in that Place ; but being prevented, by the timely Succours brought from *Inverness*, all of sudden they march to *Perth*, to the Number of 400 Men.

The Earl of *Loudon* being apprised of the Designs of the *Frazers*, wrote immediately to the Lord *Lovat*, and in his Majesty's Name, demanded that he would deliver up the Arms of his Clan ; he even went with a Party to *Castle-Downie*, against which he planted Cannon, and carried him prisoner to *Inverness* ; but in three Days Time he found a Way to escape. About this Time several Letters passed betwixt the Lord President and him, wherein the former lays open the Ingratitude of his Lordship to the Government for their many Favours to him, and in the meantime obtests him to stop the Career of his Clan ; the Answer was drawn up in the most crafty Terms ; he throws the whole Blame on his *unnatural Son*, who had act-ed thus without his Advice ; he insinuates, that if any Harm was done the Insurgents, it would tend to erase some ancient Families, to whom he gives an Encomium beyond what they deserve ; points out the Remedy against their Rising, viz. granting them 25,000*l. Sterl.* to keep them down ; makes Mention of the Battle of *Killicranky* in a Manner very honourable to the Rebels, and concludes in so comical a Way as does not deserve a Place in any History.

Lord *Loudon* observing the Fruitlessnes of Treaties, thought of doing something for the Government, as a Soldier. On the 3d *December*, in a very severe Frost, he set out for the Relief of *Fort Augustus*, with 600 Men, supplied the Place with what was wanting, and in his March, intimated to the People of *Stratherrick* what they were to expect if they joined the E-

nemy

nemy ; scarce was he at *Inverness*, viz. on the 8th, till he heard of the dismal State of Affairs on the other Side of the *Spey*. To prevent the Evil from spreading further, he prepares a Remedy, and detaches those very Forces who returned from Fort *Augustus*, viz. the Laird of *MacLeod* with 500 Men, towards *Elgin*, and the next Day Captain *Munro* of *Culcairn* with 200, having replaced them with two Companies of *MacKenzies*, whom he called in from *Brahan*. Mr. *MacLeod* having come to *Elgin*, immediately heard that 200 of the Rebels were in Possession of the Boats of *Spey* at *Fochabers*, and resolved to dispute the Passage with him ; the Report was not groundless, for, Lord *Lewis Gordon* was there with that Number of Men, and wrote the Laird of *Grant*, (who had gathered his Clan for protecting his Lands) a most insulting Letter, threatening *Strathspey* with Fire and Sword, if they did not immediately disband. Mr. *Grant*, well knowing the Impotence of his Menace, for that rash Youth had not above 200 with him, but these very well armed, wrote for Answer that he would speak with him next Day, when he advanced toward the Hill above *Gordon Castle* to favour *MacLeod*'s passing the *Spey* ; Lord *Lewis* observing his bad Situation from the Nighbourhood of the *Grants*, and the Forces of Lord *Lowdon* now upon the Banks of the *Spey*, retreated towards *Strathbogie* on the 15th.

The Enemy being gone, the Boats were prepared and sent over the River for transporting the Troops ; they joined the *Grants* immediately ; and afterwards separated, the *MacLeods* taking the Rout of *Cullen*, and the other, that of *Strathbogie*. Next Day, the *Monroes* crossed the *Spey* and followed the *Grants*, who retired, from thence to defend their own Estates, to the great Misfortune of the other Commanders ; for had they marched on, 'tis not to be doubted, but either young General *Gordon* would have fled to *Angus*, where he would have been shut up, or else have been worsted in the Skirmish I am soon to relate ; the Consequence of which would have been, that not only *Aberdeen* the third City in the Nation, and almost the whole North, would be put into the Hands of the King's Troops, but the future Landings from *France* had been prevented, which would have been so effectual a Check to the Arms of the Rebels, that perhaps the Scene had directly closed. But then how had the Rock of Ages,

who weighs the Mountains in Scales, been glorified in their Destruction ? In the mean Time, the Macleods arrive at *Old-Meldrum* on the 19th. and the Munros at *Aldrain* on the 21st. Next Day, each directed their March to *Inverury*, where they joined about Ten in the Forenoon ; by the Time the Munros had got their Billets upon the Country, West of the Village, the farthest about two Miles distant, the other entered the Town. The whole Corps got Orders to be in Readiness about Six next Morning, to march for *Aberdeen* and drive the Rebels from it ; but these were countermanded on hearing of the Reinforcements which Lord *Lewis* had got from *Monrose* and *Aberbrothick*. Every Thing was quiet in the Camp next Day, which being *Sunday*, such as understood English went to the Church, after placing Centrys at the proper Avenues, and detaching 50 Men, by the Way of *Kintore*, as a reconnoitring Party, to get Intelligence of the Motions of the Enemy ; they espied two Men on Horseback, whom six of them quickly pursued for about two Miles, when their Horses were almost spent with Fatigue, they alighted and took to their Heels ; the Pursuers fearing an Ambuscade, retired to the main Body, and returned to the Camp in the Evening, while the two Rebels, carried such a Confurbation to *Aberdeen*, that those of their Party turned out, and drew up in a Park to the West of the Town.

Both Sides were now desirous of Action. The Laird of *MacLeod* placed Centries about the Camp all Night, and in the Morning sent out Parties to patrole ; and in this uncertain Situation each had continued, had not an Express been intercepted at *Turreff*, from Lord *Loudon* to *MacLeod*, setting furth, that his Busnels with Lord *Lovat* would not allow him to spare any Reinforcement. The Letter was carried to Lord *Lewis*, who directly called a Council of War, in which it was resolved to march secretly and attack their Enemy, who, they judged, would be secure in Expectation of the Clan of the *Gunns*. He set out in the Morning of the 23d, with about 900 Men, composed of his own Friends, about 200 *Farguhars*, 200 of the *Angus* Militia, and 100 French Piquets. Lord *Lewis* marched by the Bridge of *Don* with 800 to surprize them in Flank, while the other 100 took the common Road. About an Hour after Sun set, some of the *MacLeods*, going to the South End of the Town to relieve the Centries, espied white Co-

lours

lours upon the Declivity of a Hill, and approaching nearer and nearer, by the Side of the Parks of *Keith-hall*. They immediately gave the Alarm ; Mr. *MacLeod* caus'd beat to Arms, and the Pipes to sound. Every one run to his Place, and followed his Chief, who went to the South-East of the Town, and in an Instant very advantagiously drew up his Handful of Men, to wait for the Enemy, now in full March to attack him. They at this Time were entering the Water of *Ury*, above the *Bass*, which is a little artificial Mount, situated on the South-East near the Church ; but here they were kept in Awe by the Fire of the King's Men, and so retired a little, crossed at a Place called the *Miln of Kintore*, and advanced by the Way of the *Bass*, now betwixt them and the Royalists ; but no sooner do they come out from this Fence, than they received a second *Salvo* from the *MacLeods*, which obliged them to double their Pace towards the Church upon their Right ; when here, they wheeled with there Front towards the King's Forces ; there was nothing now between them but an Ascent, which equally screened both Parties from each others Fire ; as General *Gordon* had retired behind a House for Safety, the *French*, who were there under Lord *Lewis Drummond* advanced firing, which was answer'd very briskly by the *MacLeods*, till they observing there were regular Troops among their Enemies, and that a Body of choice Men were crossing the *Don*, a little below the Town, they sounded a Retreat, which was executed in a very regular Manner, thro' the Midst of the Place, Mr. *MacLeod* was the last Man to retire ; *Culcairn*, being corpulent was carried down in the Flight, but as he came to the End of *Inverurie*, was like to give over, till mounted on a good Horse by his Servant, who came seasonably to his Relief : His Corps had no Share in the Action, for upon hearing the first Platoon, they fled out of their Quarters in the greatest Confusion, some one Way and some another. Such as were engaged pursued their Way to *Strathbogie*, 14 Miles from the Place of Action, and next Day retired to the other Side of the *Spey*, to prevent any further Surprises till they should be re-inforced. Such was the Skirmish at *Inverurie*, in which were kill'd on the Side of the Royalists 7, and 15 wounded, and on that of the Rebels about 30, some of whom were carried down the Water, wherein they were shot by a Party of twelve Men,

posted

posted in a Corn-yard, near the Side of the River. As soon as Victory declared for the Enemy, they surrounded the Houses of the Town, and took about 49 Prisoners, whom they treated in a very strange Manner. Lieutenant-General *Gordon* went into an Inn, and called for a Bottle of Wine, among some of the Prisoners. I am to give no Character of him, but by the Healths he proposed, any Person may form an Idea of him: His first Toast was, "Here's Confusion to all the *Whiggs*." His second, " Damnation to all the *Whigg* Ministers." And his third, " Success to the Arms of the *French King*." Next Day he sent a Detachment to *Strathbogie*, where hearing of *MacLeod*'s crossing the *Spey*, they returned, and on the 26th directed their March to *Aberdeen*, to which Place the Loylists who fell into their Hands, had the cruel Mortification of being carried in the Manner of a delusive Cavalcade, by People whose Sentiments of Religion were as erroneous, as their Notions of the civil Interest of the Nation destructive. The Prisoners who were whole, were most Part sent to *Perth*, and the wounded kept at *Aberdeen* for their Recovery. The Enemy continued to tyrannize in the Country, to augment their Numbers, and favour the Landings from Abroad, till called for, to assist at the Battle which soon afterwards ensued.

But not only are the Turns of Fortune to be met with on Land, but likewise at Sea. The Passage of *Kinghorn* was opened, upon the Departure of the Enemy; the Ships formerly stationed in the Roads returned into the Harbours. Admiral *Byng* was now upon the Coast of *Scotland*, with the Gloucester of 50 Guns, the Pearl, Milford, and Ludlow, of 40 each, the Winchelsea, Bridgewater, and Glasgow, of 20 each, the Raven, Shirk, and some other Vessels. Upon the 25th of November, the Milford took a Privateer called the Lewis of *Dunkirk*, and brought her into the Road of *Leith* upon the 5th December, the Day that General *Handasyde* set out for *Berwick*, amidst a numerous Retinue of Noblemen, Gentlemen, and Officers, highly satisfied with the Civility shown towards the Troops by the People of the Country, who wanted no Reward of their Kindness, but that it might be received.

On the 6th, the Prisoners on Board the *French* Vessel, were landed and escorted to the Castle, by a Detachment of *Ligonier*'s Foot, and Collonel *Gairdner*'s Dragoons, amidst a prodigious Multitude of Spectators. Their Number was about

206, viz. 8 Officers, 2 Serjeants, 3 Corporals, and 46 private Men, of Buckley's Regiment ; 2 Captains, 2 Lieutenants, 2 Serjeants, 3 Corporals, one Drum, and 46 private Men, of Clair's ; 2 Captains, 2 Lieutenants, 2 Surgeons, 3 Serjeants, 3 Corporals, 1 Drum. and 47 private Men, of Berwick's, with 4 Servants, and 27 Sailors. There were likewise taken out of the Privateer, 330 Stand of Arms with Bayonets, and Cartridge-boxes, as many Broad-swords with Brass Handles, a great Number of Bridles and Saddles, Harnesses and Collars for Horses. The Officers seem'd much concerned ; but some of the Men were no way affected ; they were mostly Native Irish, or French-men descended from British and Irish Parents ; the few Deserters among them, were most closely confined, till tried by a Court Martial, and executed for their Crime. That Day Collonel Price's Regiment marched to Stirling, and on the 9th Collonel Ligoneir's followed, for Defence of the Bridge of that Place, against Glengyle and his MacGregors, who with some other Rebels, had now advanced toward Down and Dumblaine ; thus the Designs of the Rebels got a Check, while the Government, was visited with a Misfortune in their Turn ; for not only had the Fox Man of War of 40 Guns, been overset and destroyed, but the Hazard Sloop fell into the Hands of the Enemy, on the 1st December. That Vessel having got Notice of a Landing at Montrose, sailed to the Mouth of the Esk, in order to destroy the French Men of War, that had convoyed the Troops. They engaged her very closely, the one by her Side, and the other on her Stern ; by the Tide she was driven within Reach of a Battery, which the French had erected at the Entrance of the River ; the Engineers on Shore played furiously upon her, so that after acting all that could be expected, at last she was obliged to strike to the Enemy, who carried her to Dunkirk, where she was turned into a Privateer, called by the Name of *The Prince Charles Snow*, and three Times sent with Troops, Money and Ammunition for the Use of the Rebels, till she fell at a very critical Juncture (of which in its place) into the Hands of her former Masters, who restored her to her former Service, and reponed her to her Name, Such was the Condition of Scotland, when the Chevalier entered it and came to Glasgow, turned the Face of Affairs

Affairs, and published the following Relation of his Winter Campaign ; which I here insert, as the Paper is both curious and scarce.

JOURNAL of the Marches of his Royal Highness the Prince Regent's Army, from the Time they entered England, the 8th of November, till their Return to Scotland, the 20th of December, 1745.

HIS Royal Highness entered *England*, Friday the 8th Day of November, in the Evening, and quartered at *Reddings* all Night.

The 9th His Royal Highness passed the Water of *Eden* at *Rockley* about Two in the Afternoon, with the First Column, and quartered that Night in the Villages West from *Carlisle*.

The next Morning, being Saturday the 10th, *Carlisle* was blockaded on all Hands, and the Cannon were brought up, in order to raise a Battery that Night ; but Intelligence being come, that General *Wade* was marching towards *Carlisle*, His Royal Highness went early on Monday the 11th to *Brampton*, being seven Miles on the Road to *Newcastle*, in order to meet Marshal *Wade*'s Army, and give him Battle : But, after waiting there two Days, and having certain Intelligence that the Troops near *Newcastle* declined coming forward, His Royal Highness ordered *Carlisle* to be again blockaded, which was done accordingly by Half of the Army on Wednesday Night, being the 13th, whilst his Royal Highness continued with the other Half at *Brampton*, as the most convenient Post to attack the Enemy, had they ventured to relieve *Carlisle*. The Trenches were opened that Night at about Musket Shot from the Walls of the Town, about Midway betwixt the *English* and *Scots* Ports, and thirteen Cannon were brought up, in order to batter the Town ; but this was prevented by the Town's Capitulating on Thursday the 14th, and his Royal Highnesses Troops took Possession of the Town and Castle on Friday Morning, after the Town got full Security for their Liberties, &c. according to the Capitulation. During both Times that *Carlisle* was blockaded, there was but one Man killed, and one wounded. The Militia that served in *Carlisle*, all the Inhabitants of the City, as well as the Nighbourhood, can testify the exact Discipline of his Royal High-

Highness's Army, who paid for every Thing. All the Subjects were protected in the full Enjoyment of their Liberties and Properties.

His Royal Highness, with his Army, halted at *Carlisle*, and in the Nighbourhood, till the 20th of November, which Day the Van marched to *Penrith*.

The 21st, The Van went to *Shap* and the main Body came to *Penrith*.

The 22d, The Van marched to *Kendal*, and the main Body halted at *Penrith*.

The 23d, The main Body came to *Kendal*.

The 24th, The Van marched to *Lancaster*, and the main Body halted at *Kendal*.

The 25th, The Van marched to *Preston*, and the main Body to *Lancaster*.

The 26th, The Van passed *Preston*, and quartered at the Village on the other Side of the Bridge, and the main Body came to *Preston*.

The 27th, The whole Army halted.

The 28th, marched to *Wigan*, and the Villages near to it.

The 29th, All the Army marched to *Manchester*, halted there the 30th.

The 1st December, the Army marched to *Macclesfield*.

The 2d, the Van marched to *Congleton* (within nine Miles of *Newcastle Under-Line*) where the main Body of the Duke of *Cumberland*'s Army lay, from which a Detachment was sent towards *Newcastle* for Intelligence, and within three Miles of that Place, the said Detachment took Mr. *Wear* (or *Wiar*) their principal Spy, Prisoner, and brought him to *Congleton*, upon which the Duke of *Cumberland*'s Army retired to *Litchfield*. The Prince Regent having Intelligence of his Retreat from *Newcastle Under-Line*, marched for *Derby* by *Ashburn*.

The 3d, The Van marched to *Ashburn* by *Leek*. The main Body rested the 2d at *Macclesfield*, and marched the 3d to *Leek*. And,

The 4th, The whole Army went to *Derby*, where they stayed all the 5th; and in a Council of War held in his Royal Highness's Presence. (Dispatches of Importance being receivd) it was resolved to return to *Scotland*; and the next Day, being the 6th, they returned to *Ashburn*.

The

The 7th, they marched to *Leek*, and on the 8th to *Macclesfield*.

The 9th, the whole Army marched to *Manchester*.

The 10th, they marched to *Wigan*, and the 11th to *Preston*, where they halted the 12th.

The 13th, marched to *Lancaster*, halted the 14th; which Day a reconnoitring Party took two of the Duke of *Cumberland's* Men call'd *Rangers*.

The 15th, marched to *Kendal*.

The 16th, the main Body of the Army was at *Shap*, but the Rear Guard were obliged to stop at a Farm four Miles from *Kendal*, by reason that a great many of the Carriages, and particularly the four-wheeled Waggons, in which was part of the Ammunition, could not be got forwarded because of the Steepnes of the Hill and badnes of the Road: But small Carts being got next Day, and the Ammunition being shifted from the broken Waggons, they came that Night to *Shap*, being the 17th; the main Body having gone to *Pennrith* that Day.

The 18th, the Rear Guard join'd the main Body at *Pennrith* in the Evening. They saw several Parties of the Enemy that Day, but upon the Approach of the Rear Guard they always retired: Tho' once, a considerable Body of Light Horse formed upon the Road, in order to stop their Proceeding; but, upon some of the *Highlanders* throwing their Plaids, and running to attack them; they went off at the Gallop, and shew'd that Horse cou'd run faster than Men, one of them only having been kill'd. After the Baggage was sent to *Pennrith*, a Battallion of Foot and some Horse, went through Lord *Lonsdale's* Parks of *Lowder*, thinking to find some of the Light Horse about his House, as he was Lord Lieutenant of the County: Accordingly some of them were seen at a Distance, but rode off upon Sight of the *Highlanders*: Some Shots were fired after them. At the same Time, some Parties scouring the Parks, took a Running Footman of the Duke of *Cumberland's*, and another Person clothed in Green, who appeared to be an Officer; who informed that the Duke of *Cumberland* was within a Mile, with about 4000 Horse and Dragoons, besides Light Horse and Militia; upon which Lord *George Murray*, who always commanded the Rear Guard, took Possession of a

Village

Village called *Clifton*, being a Mile from Lord *Lonsdale's* House, upon the Highway to, and two Miles short of *Penrith*. By that Time the Enemy had form'd upon an open Muir, facing *Clifton*, and within half Cannon Shot ; where they continued for a considerable Time : At last, about an Hour after Sun-set, they dismounted several of their Dragoons, who came to the Bottom of the Muir, and lin'd the Hedges and Ditches that were next to it. There was a pretty smart Fire on both Sides, for above half an Hour ; but at last the Dragoons firing very fast, a Battallion of *Highlanders* was ordered down Sword-in-Hand upon them, with Orders to drive them from their Posts, but not to advance upon the Muir. Accordingly they went on with the greatest Alacrity and Swiftness, and after passing two Hedges drove them from the third, which was the last of all, and then returned, as they were ordered, to their former Posts. But 12 of the *Highlanders* having past the Bottom Ditch, and run up the Muir, are still a-missing, which is the whole Loss on their Side. How many of the Dragoons were killed and wounded is uncertain ; but by several Circumstances, such as Broad-Swords taken from the Dragoons, and the Report of the wounded dressed at *Penrith*, next Day, cannot be less than a hundred.

Night being now come on, both Sides retired. The four Battallions of *Highlanders* joined the main Body at *Penrith*, and next Day, being the 19th, the whole Army arrived at *Carlisle*, where they left a Garrison ; and the 20th, past the Water of *Esk*, which was very high, about three of the Clock in the Afternoon. All this Time the Enemy never appeared ; what they met with near *Penrith* had disgusted them from too near an Approach of his Royal Highness's Army, which quartered in two different Columns that Night ; the one with his Royal Highness at *Annan*, and the other at *Ecclefechan*.

It is certain, that by all Accidents, such as Death, by sickness (of which 'tis believed there were more in one Day in General *Wade's* Army, than was in six Weeks in his Royal Highness's Army) and People that went astray in plundering (which notwithstanding all the Officers were able to do, could not be intirely prevented) and were not heard of again, that his Royal Highness's Army did not lose forty Men in

the Expedition, including the Twelve at *Penrith*. Upon the whole, never was a March performed with more Chearfulness, and executed with greater Vigour and Resolution; which (next to the visible Protection of Almighty GOD) was owing to the Example shewn by his Royal Highness, who always marched on Foot at the Head of his Men.

I need make no Observations on this Paper, except that the Account of the Skirmish at *Clifton*, in particular, and of their Losses in general, have been since disproven, to the Conviction of every reasonable Person: add to this, that they are obliged to confess the Outrages of some of their Party, which they palliate with all their Skill.——But while the Council of the Chevalier is preparing an Account of Times that are past, their Officers are not deficient in making Provision against the Time to come. They made vast Demands for Broad-Cloth, Tartan, Linnen, Bonnets and Shoes, to the Value of 10,000*l.* They assessed such as had promotted the new Levies in Behalf of the Government, in Sumis beyond their Ability, and plundered their Houses for not Payment; Parties were sent out to the Towns and Countries around; *Renfrew*, *Paisley* and *Lismahagoe* (which last they burnt) with many other Places, felt the dismal Effects of their Vengeance; Lists of the People in Arms against them were procured, and those treated with the Resentment of a provoked Enemy; the Country People whose Names had been taken up for bringing in Horses, and Carts were compelled to serve them in these Particulars: 'tis observable, that such who joined them after their entring *Edinburgh*, were more rigorous, than the Native Highlanders. For the Disaffected in *Scot/and*, who have a small Knowledge of History, are much more dangerous than those who have none at all. A false and prejudiced Notion, that the *Presbyterians* took off the Head of King *Charles I.* is deeply rooted in their Minds. Bishop *Wijshart's* Account of the unhappy *Montrose's* Actions and Battles, are still recent with them, tho' that Prelate's Book, be contrary to the authentick Records, both Civil and Ecclesiastick of these Times, as also contains opprobrious Inve&tives, unworthy the most trifling Author; and since that Period, they are apt to lay upon them the Blame of all the Misfortunes, which attended the Family of *Steuart*, which is the Cause of a deadly Hatred scarce to be erased.

Stirling

Stirling was now almost open to receive the Pretender ; for on hearing of his Return, Collonel Price's and Collonel *Ligoneir's* Regiments of Foot, General *Hamilton's* and the late Collonel *Gairdner's* Dragoons, retired to Edinburgh, upon the 23, the *Glasgow* and *Paisley* Militia immediatly followed from their respective Posts, and arrived in that City upon the 24th ; These were most kindly received by the Inhabitants, who, tho' grieved at seeing the King's Troops obliged in the Midst of Winter to move from one Place to another, were yet overjoyed to have these near them for their Support against an Attack which was at that Time greatly feared, notwithstanding the following Precautions.

The Inhabitants consulted the Gentlemen versed in Military Affairs anent their Case ; and gave them in a Memorial of it ; a Council of War was held, in which it was resolved *December 28.*

1^{mo}, That Orders be given to lay in immediatly a sufficient Quantity of Provisions ; this was intimated from all the Pulpits of the City.

2^{do}, That a Corps of able bodied Men from the Country, be brought into the City, and added to the regular Forces and Militia.

3^{tio}, That the Cannon on travelling Carriages, Harnesses for Horses, Cartridges for the said Cannon, Primers, &c. be provided.

4^{to}, That proper Works be thrown up before the different Ports, and the Foot of the several Closses, and that all the Ports that shall be judged useleſs, be immediatly built up.

5^{to}, That proper Communications be made for the ready Junction of Troops around the Walls

6^{to}, That Artillery Tumbrils be furthwith loaded with Ball and Cartridges, to be sent where there may be Occasion.

7^{mo}, That a Quantity of Wheel Barrows, Pick-Axes, Shovels and other necessary Artillery Stores be provided, together with Horses to draw the Train. All these Things were immediatly entered upon ; to which the City was encouraged, by the strong Assurances of the most seasonable Assistance from Lieutenant General *Guist*, upon whom in General *Händsydes* Absence, the Command in *Scotland* was devolved, but on hearing of the Rout of the Enemy, the Perplexity of the Citizens did cease.

About this Time a Drummer in the French Service proceeded to Newcastle, with a Message from Lord John Drummond, who was now at Perth, anent the Exchange of Prisoners; he delivered the Letter, to which General Wade caused make the following Return. *That the Marshal hath no Answer to give to the Letter brought by him, and that he can receive no Message from a Person who is a Subject of the King's, and in Rebellion against his Majesty.*

The Pretender observing that every Thing was now ready for his Departure, that his Troops were not only sufficiently rested after their Fatigue, but recovered from the Consternation into which they were put by his Royal Highness, set out for Stirling upon the 2d January 1746; his Forces first moved towards Edinburgh, but turned about and proceeded the one Column to Cumbernauld, and the other to Kilsyth, where they arrived next Evening, while an advanced Party reached Falkirk. Two considerable Merchants were carried as Hostages, for Payment of what was wanting of the exorbitant Sums which were imposed on the Town: Printing Materials and Workmen were likewise carried along, which they made Use of, with a surprising Dexterity to serve their Views. The Chevalier, lay on the 3d, at Mr. Campbell of Shawfield's House near Kilsyth. The Rebels ordered his Steward to provide every Thing, and promised Payment for it; but next Morning told him, that the Bill should be allowed to his Master at accompting for the Rents of Kilsyth, being a forfeited Estate. This was the usual Conduct of the Pretender; for, at Dalkeith, the Fleurs, Drumlainrigg, Douglas and Hamilton, he did not so much as leave a Shilling to the Noblemen's Servants, judging perhaps, that a Visit from their Natural Prince, was a sufficient Compensation; this made some People observe, that he had the first Part of *Gatilin's* Character, viz. desirous of the Property of another; but not the second, liberal of his own; on Saturday the 4th they marched towards Stirling, and cantoned their Army at Denny, St. Ninians and Bannockburn, where the Adventurer took up his Quarters, at the House of Sir Hugh Paterson; being thus in a convenient Situation for joining with such as had declared for him in the Nothern Counties, he sent several Expresses to the respective Corps, to hasten their March to Stirling, whose Gates were now shut up and Avenues to it stopped

stopped, to prevent any Intelligence of their Motions coming to the King's Troops ; but were opened on the 8th when the Rebels entered it.

While the Pretender is busy in preparing every Thing to strengthen his Cause and animate his Forces, the Army of General *Wade* is advancing to beat up his Quarters, being encouraged by the Example of their fellow Soldiers under Command of his Royal Highness, and the unparalleled Generosity of the City of *London* for their Support. Those in the Management of Affairs in that Metropolis, had a Meeting to consult anent Ways and Means for the Relief of the Troops. A Subscription was opened, to which Numbers repaired, and signed for such Sums as their Ability would allow. The Prince of *Wales* gave 500*l.* two Letters were wrote, the one to his Royal Highnes, the other to General *Wade*, giving an Account of the Scheme, and proferring what was given in, to the Encouragement of the Soldiers, under their respective Commands ; an Answer came from our Deliverer that Darling of the Army, accepting of their generous Offer, and about the same Time another from Marshal *Wade*, narrating the Need, the Forces under him had of it ; the Letters having come to the Lord Mayor, he immediately on the 23 December called together the Committee who were appointed for managing of it ; the Letters were produced and read before them, they unanimously resolved and contracted for, 12,000 pair of Bretches, 12,000, Shirts, 10,000 Woollen Caps, and 10,000 pair of Woolen Stockings, 1000 Blankets, 12,000 pair of knit Woollen Gloves, and 9000 pair of Woollen Spatterdashes; all these were immediatly sent down for their Use, about 3000*l.* of the Subscription Money was set apart for rewarding such Soldiers as shoud be maimed or wounded in the Service, 300*l.* was sent to Marshal *Wade* to be applied according to his Excellency's Direction, for the more speedy Recovery of the sick Soldiers under him, in Augmentation of the Allowance granted by the Crown on that Behalf ; This commendable Zeal of the Subjects giving in large Contributions, was only in Imitation of his Majesty, who on the 27th November, out of his Royal Bounty, and out of his private Purse, ordered all the Soldiers under his Royal Highness, and General *Wade*, two pair of Shoes, each ; a noble Example of Koyal Goodness, and worthy that Care and

and Clemency for which his Royal and illustrious Family have been eminently remarkable: And indeed without such Marks of Royal Favour, the poor Men could not have endured such Fatigue; but now prompted by the Views of restoring the publick Quiet, animated with the Hopes of Conquest, they marched to *Scotland*; the Gentlemen of the Counties through which they passed, contributed a Fund for their Use; each Soldier had a Pound of Beef, a Pound of Bread, a Glass full of good *Scots* Spirits, and a Bottle of Ale, besides the People of the Country, so liberally supplied them, that their Kindness was look'd upon as pouring Water into the Ocean. It was Dark before they entred *nEdinburgh*, yet were they received with all possible Demonstrations of Joy; the City was finely illuminated; the People huzza'd, the Militia lin'd the Streets, and warm Quarters were immediately assigned them: The very Day of their Entrancée, the western Militia and that of the Places about *Eidnburgh*, were reviewed in *St. Annes* Yards; the Sight of such Numbers amounting almost to 4000, gave an entire Satisfaction to the Lovers of our Constitution, and Prosperity of the City; especially as many of them went thro' the several Parts of their Exercise with an Alertness, almost equal to that of Military Troops. On Saturday the 4th, a considerable Corps of Volunteers, from among the People, who call themselves the *Seceders* from the *Church* of Scotland, marched thro' the City, with a displayed Banner, having this Inscription, *For Religion, the Covenants, King and Kingdoms*; that Night Major General *Husk* arrived in the Town, to the great Joy both of Citizens and Soldiers, as did Mr. *Thorntoun* of *Chattel*, with his Troop. And on Monday the 6th Lieutenant General *Hawley* came in; the Dragoons went out to meet him at *Prestloun*; but he upbraided them with their Cowardice, and desired them put up their Swords at that Time, and see to use them better in the Hour of Action; by this insinuating his Dissatisfaction with their Conduct, at the Battle near the Place where they were. Next Day Brigadeer *Cholmondeley*'s and Collonel *Wolfe*'s, on the 7th, Major General *Howard*'s (the old Buffs) and on the 8th Collonel Sir *Robert Munro*'s did arrive; all these by the Way of *Haddingtoun*, where they met with a Reception, suitable to what might be expected of Men, sensible of their Duty

Duty. On the 10th Colonel *Barrel's* and General *Pultney's* came up : So that now the whole Forces being ready for Action, and near to the Enemy, there remained Nothing but to march toward *Stirling*, and dispossess them of their Posts, only it was judged proper to wait a little for refreshing the Army, after the Fatigues of a Winter Campaign ; they were lodged in the empty Buildings of the Town, the Inhabitants were conveened, 3000 Blankets were demanded, each Burgess gave in Proportion to his Circumstances, for their Accommodation, nor did they even desire these back, when the Army marched to attack the Rebels in their Camp.

But while the Troops are successively coming up to *Edinburgh*, the Place destin'd for their Rendezvous, such as had first arrived, were not suffered to remain unemployed. As the great Care and Anxiety of the Rebels, was to have up their Artillery, so the greatest Pains were requisite from the Officers of the King's Troops to prevent it. The Pretender had no sooner come to *Bannockburn*, than he immediately dispatched Lord *George Murray* to *Alloa* to confer with Collonel *Drummond*, anent transporting the Cannon, upon Floats ; these two survéyed the several Passages upon the *Forth*, and at last agreed, that the most proper Way would be to carry them over on Board of a Brigg which they had seized ; for their further facilitating their Passage, they had erected a Battery of Cannon on the Pier of *Alloa*, and another at *Heigens-Nuick* ; but even in this, they met with some Difficulties ; for the Pearl Sloop had sailed up the River, to prevent the Passage, of the *Forth* in these Parts : by this Time, they with great Labour, brought two heavy Cannon of 12 Pounders about by the *Frew*, while 3 of four Pounders which they carried along with them from *Glasgow*, were conducted to the Hill of *Airth*, and planted there to annoy the King's Ships, and hinder their advancing up the River ; this Battery was supported by 400 drawn from their Rear Guards stationed at *Falkirk*. Captain *Faulkener* in the Vulture Sloop being arrived at *Inverkeithen* Road, sent a Cutter and some Boats before him for Intelligence, these sailed up the *Forth* to *Kincardin* Road, where they saw a Brigg, the Passage Vessel for the Artillery and Stores of the Enemy come out of *Airth*. Next Morning the Vulture

ture came into Kincardine Road where being informed of the Brigg, and that two Vessels were lying at Kincardin, ready to be seized, she sent several Boats manned and armed to burn them, which they did without any Loss, notwithstanding some Platoons from the Town. In the mean Time, the Tide fell so low, that she could not return that Night to the Road ; which the Rebels observing, they opened a Battery of three Pieces of Cannon, and early in the Morning began to play upon her unexpectedly ; their Fire was answered by the Sloop ; two of their Cannon were dismounted, one of their Engineers was killed, and *Perth* was said to have received a Wound in the *Vesica*, which tho' not mortal at the Time, yet with a ruffling in his Thigh, which was occasioned by his Foot slipping into the Hold of the Brigg, he was confined to his Bed, and rendered incapable of any further Action ; • The Enemy being driven from the Town and Battery, withdrew to the Point of *Elphinstoun*, where they erected a four Gun Battery, for guarding of the Pass.

Colonel *Lightoun* came to the Assistance of the *Pearl* and *Vulture*, with 300 Men on the 9th ; when it was agreed to attack the Brig at *Alloa*, which had two Cannon on Board ; for this Purpose, 50 of Collonel *Lightoun*'s Men, were sent in a large Boat, with the Ships Boats manned, and armed to lie all Night a Mile above *Alloa*, to prevent the said Brigg's going up the Firth that Night ; but on passing the Town, they unluckily grounded, and were discovered ; the Rebels beat to Arms ; and fired from Right to Left very near half a Mile, but were at too great a Distance to do them any Harm, except that a Man was killed, and another lost his Legg ; for as the Sand was somewhat quick, and the Sea somewhat deep, the Enemy thought it improper to run in their usual precipitate Way upon them, especially as in their Attack, they would be exposed to the Fire of regular Troops ; by this Means so much Time was spent, till the Boats floatted, and then sailed off. A second Attack was resolved upon next Morning, for which Purpose, Collonel *Lightoun*'s Men were landed, while the two sloops briskly attacked the Battery which the Rebels had erected at *Elphinstoun*, within Musket shot. Three of their Cannon were dismounted ; but one of the Sloops having her Cable cut asunder by one of their

Cannon

Cannon shot, she was by the Strength of the Ebb Tide forced from her Station; and the two Pilots in the other, having each lost a Legg, were obliged to give up the Enterprise; in this whole Affair only two Sailors were killed, and ten or twelve wounded; but the Land Forces under Colonel *Leighton* received no Damage. The only Good reaped by the Government from this Expedition up the Firth, was that it delayed the Measures of the Enemy, for attacking *Stirling Castle*; they were so observed in the Day Time by the Governour General *Blackney*, that they durst not approach within reach of the Guns of the Garison, and in the Night Time they were toil'd in getting their Cannon over the *Forth*; so that it was the 12th of *January*, before the whole was transported.

But while this is doing, their Troops in and about *Perth* were ordered to march to *Stirling*. *January* the 11th, in the Morning, the *MacDonalds* under *Barisdale* and *Moyart's* Brother, went off to that Place, as did the *Frazer's* under the Master of *Lovat* in the Afternoon, the *MacIntoshs* and *Farquharsons* followed next Day. These were supplied with Powder, and Ball, from two small Sloops, which came from *Dundee*, and brought with them Pick-Axes, Shovels, Biscuit, Wine and Spirits, 15 Swivel Guns, and 500 French Firelocks, for a Regiment to be levied for Major *Nairn*.

Thus the Rebels compassed their Designs to their Satisfaction, were joined by all their Forces, upon the 14th, and the whole of their Cannon, viz. 2 Pieces of 16 Pounders 3 of three, and others of a less Size; but with all their Skill, could make no Impression upon the Castle of *Stirling*, General *Blackney* having, by a brisk Fire from the Garrison, overturned their Fascines, of which they had a great Number, and demolished their Works; however tho' they were not capable of reducing that Fort, yet they were in Possession of the West Country, over which they tyranized; as also of the Nothern Coast, along which for protecting their Magazines, the Hazard Sloop, and their other Vessels, were cantoned 1000 Men, composed of 400 French, 300 Gordons, about 300 under the Command of Sir James Kinloch of Navey, a Gentleman of an ancient Family

ly, whose Loyalty was untainted till this unfortunate Time.

The Generals of the King's Army being informed of the Distress of *Stirling Castle*, of the Devastation committed upon the Neighbourhood, began to march their Troops for the Relief of both ; the Country Militia that had been called in from the *Lothians*, and the other Irregulars were sent to their respective Homes, with orders to be ready at a Call. And only the *Edinburgh Regiment*, with the City Guard were left in that Place.

Every Thing being in Readiness upon the 13th, Major General *Husk* marched, five Old Regiments, viz. *Monroe's Cholmondeley's, Price's, Ligoneir's* and *Batterau's* with the *Glasgow Militia*, and the Remains of *Hamilton's* and *Gardner's Dragoons* ; they arrived at *Linlithgow* about 4 o'Clock, and had almost surprised 1100 of the Rebels, under the Command of Lord *Elcho*, and Lord *George Murray*, who had marched that Morning from *Falkirk*, to carry of what Provisions they could meet with : A faithful Friend of the Enemy gave them Notice of the Approach of the King's Troops, who entered the one End of the Town, while they were retiring over the Bridge at the other, with the utmost Precipitation. On the 14th, the Regiments of *Howard, Pultney and Barrel*, marched to *Borrowstounness*, to be at Hand to support Major General *Husk* : The Remainder viz. *Fleming's, Blackney's* and a Battalion of *Sinclair's* marched on the 15th. Next Day General *Hawley*, set out, and ten Pieces of Brass Cannon, which were brought from the Castle of *Edinburgh*, followed ; that same Morning General *Cobham's Dragoons* passed the City, without halting, from *Dalkeith*, where they were stationed the Night before ; Mr. *Thorntoun* likewise accompanied the Troops with his *Yorkshire Blues*, as did several other Volunteers. Upon the 16th, General *Husk* with eight Regiments marched from *Linlithgow* to *Falkirk*, where at Night the whole Army arrived, and encamped to the Westward of that Village ; next Day 1300 of the *Argyle Shire Highlanders* under Lieutenant Colonel *Campbel* came up to the Camp, these had passed by the Way of *Glasgow* and *Lithgow*, where they were received with great joy. It was good for the King's Troops, that they brought

visions a long with them; for the Rebels had carried all off that they could find in the Places through which they past.

The Armies being so near each other, a Battle must of Necessity ensue, and accordingly on the 17th, they came to a general Engagement, of which there have been very various Accounts. The King's Troops were kept in Readiness for an Attack, Centries were placed for a Mile round, while the Rebels were not idle to observe every Opportunity and embrace every Advantage; the Officers of the King's Army came to the Resolution of waiting for the Enemy in their Camp; but they on the other Hand resolved to proceed and attack the King's Troops. Early in the Morning, all their Forces except some few, left at *Stirling* for pushing the Siege, or, rather for securing their Retreat, were drawn up in a Line of Battle, a Mile East of *Bannockburn*, then their head Quarters, within four Miles of the Royal Army. They continued under Arms till about Twelve o'Clock, when observing that General *Halley* did not move forward, they received Orders to march on and attack him. Immediately Lord *George Murray*, put himself at the Head of their Army in two Columns; the Lines marched about 200 Yards distance from each other, passed the Water of *Carron* at *Dunnipace*, where they first espied the King's Troops; at this Time Lord *John Drummond*, who that Day had the Command of the left Wing, had gone with most of the Horse to reconnoitre the Royalists. He made a Feint of marching by the North side of the *Torwood*, in order to attack the King's Men, who upon seeing them, began to draw up in order of Battle to receive them; the Generals finding the Rebels did not advance, and that their Colours still remain'd unmoved in the Wood, and judging thro' Mistake, that the Corps they observed, was the main Body, gave Allowance to the Troops to dine, which they had scarce done with, when the Rebel Army was seen marching towards some rising Grounds upon a Muir a Mile South-west from *Falkirk*; the Troops immediately got under Arms, formed in the Front of the Camp, and bent their March towards the same Grounds; the Rebels got up the Hill before the King's Forces now in full March to meet them, and observing the Wind to be from the South, endeavoured to have it for them.

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The first Line of the King's Army, extending from Left to Right, was composed of the Regiments of *Wolf*, *Cholmondeley*, *Pultney*, one Battalion of the Royal Scots, *Price's* and *Ligonier's* in the Center; the Dragoons on the left: The second Line was made up of *Blakeney's* *Monroe's*, *Fleming's*, *Barrel's* and *Batterau's*; *Howard's alias the Buffs* were behind upon the Right, the *Glasgow* and *Paisley* Militia were stationed at some Farm Houses upon the Left, and the *Argile Shire Highlanders* at several Passes behind the whole.

The Rebel Army was formed thus, extending from Right to Left, the Battalions of *Keppoch*, *Clanranald*, *Appin*, and *Lochiel*, who had 3 Battallions, *Eluny*, and the Master of *Lovat* in the first Line; 2 Battallions of *Athol Men*, 2 *Ditto* of the *Angus* Militia, under Lord *Ogilvy*, and 2 under Lord *Lewis Gordon*, the *Farquarsons* of *Braemar*, and the *Mackenzies*, commanded by Lord *Cromarty* and his Son in the second Line; the Pretender, with about 450 Horse, attended by the *French Ambassador*, was in the Rear, almost opposite to the Center, but more inclining to the Right; as there was a *Morass* on the Left of the King's Army, so the Right of the King's outlined the Enemy, whereas their Left was scarcely able to cover the half of that of the Royalists.

The Dragoons, stationed upon the Right with the Artillery, were pretty near due South and North, forming almost a right Angle with the Front Line of the Foot, which was inclined North-east, the Space between the two Lines widened toward the Right; and any Person would have been apt to think an Army of 9000 Men, 7000 of which were regular Troops, might have defeated the Forces of the Enemy consisting of about 7500 Men, had not some unlucky and unforeseen Accidents happened, such as the Army took an unseasonable Dinner, and did not proceed at first Sight toward the Enemy, by which Means they got the advantage of the Ground, the Wind and Rain: Things being in this Condition, The Dragoons were ordered forward to take Possession of a rising Ground upon the Right of the Enemy, who observing this, sent the Battalions of *Appin*, *Keppoch*, *Clanronald*, and *Loc yel*, to dispute the same with them; because the possessing this Hill, would turn the Wind upon the Faces of the Rebels. The Horse marched on with great Resolution Sword

in Hand, Gairdner's Dragoons, were led by Lieutenant Colonel *Whitney* up to the Muzzle of the Guns of the Rebels, who opened ; the Cavalry rode thro' them, and received their Fire, both in Front and Flank, upon which the Horses reel'd and scattered, threw several of their Riders upon the Ground, and retreated in great Disorder, which they communicated to the different Corps of the Infantry ; their main Body run upon the Glasgow Militia, and put them into Confusion ; At this Time, a violent Storm of Wind and Rain drove full in the Face of the Royalists, who observing the Disaster, began to fire tho' very irregularly ; but alas, the same prov'd fatal to some of the Cavalry, now flying off between the two Armies ; the Foot being disordered, a Flight ensued of almost the whole first Line, except *Barel's* and *Ligoneir's*, commanded by Brigadier General *Cholmondeley*, who instantly rallied, and brought them on to the Charge, animating them by his own Example ; the Rebels seeing the Disorder began to pursue ; they threw away their Guns, and with their usual Impetuosity, run down the Hill upon the poor Men now broke and flying before them ; General *Husk* whose Bravery will shine in the British Annals, as the Deliverer of the King's Army that Day, with these Regiments, the old Buffs, and the Royal Scots, who made a Motion to the Right, by a continual Fire made a great slaughter, drove them up the Hill with the utmost Precipitation ; they endeavoured to come upon his Wing Sword in Hand, but as these were in such good Order, and their Fire so regular, the same was deferred ; for the General had ordered the first Line to kneel, but not to fire till the Enemy was just within Reach of their Bayonets, whereas the 2d and 3d Line, kept them in perpetual Motion ; while this is doing, Brigadier *Mordaunt* rallied some Regiments, to whom severals who were separated from their own did repair, and led them on with great Resolution, the brave Colonel *Francis Ligoneir* who died at Edinburgh of a Quinsey ten Days after, brought the Horse back to the Field ; they drew up to the Right of General *Husk's* Division, who by this Time huzza'd the Enemy, but these wanted Stomach to come upon them ; they continued in this Situation, till near Night, when the Horse were ordered to march up to the Field where the Highlanders were first stationed ; but there was no Enemy to be seen, except at a Distance. General

General *Hally* was now retreating with such of the Troops as had not recovered the first Conternation to *Falkirk*, where they halted and drew up; and General *Husk* observing the Night was very Stormy, that the Victory was his own, judged it would be destroying the Men to stay any longer with them, yea, thinking they might be attacked in the Night Time, or by the Dawning of next Day, withdrew from the Field, with all the Marks of Conquest: However as Captain *Cunningham* of the Train of Artillery, had deserted it, for which he was justly broke 22d February, as the Drivers had run off with the Horse at the Beginning of the Action, and as the Cannon had sunk into the Ground, now moistned with the Rain, it was impossible to get them off, yet the Grenadeers of *Barrel's* Regiment, got together some Ropes, which they fastned to one of the Pieces, and drew the same to *Falkirk*, where Horses were found to bring away two more; the Tents now very wet were abandoned by the Horses who carried them, so that such of these as were not burnt, fell into the Hands of the Enemy; as the Night continued to advance, it was agreed, for Fear of an Ambush, to march the Troops to *Linlithgow*, and put them under Cover; as they filed off, the Argile-Shire Militia were drawn up at the East End of the *Callender Park* in a Line, along which they marched and arrived at *Lithgow* that Night, and next Day came to *Edinburgh*, where Things were in a general Uproar and Confusion, for some of the Horse at the Begining of the Action, having run off after their Riders were dismounted, gave Occasion to various Conjectures; yea, some of the Men having fled off at the first Onset, gave the Alarm; and the Conternation continued till about 9 o'Clock at Night, when a Letter came to the right Honourable the Lord Justice Clerk, which being directly communicated, the People were pacified, and an Huzza was raised. Had the Rebels pursued their Way, and got betwixt the Troops and *Falkirk*, 'tis not to be doubted but they might have taken many Prisoners, such an Opportunity perhaps never was or will be in their Hands; for the Firelocks were so spoiled that their Powder would not burn, some Soldiers while on the Field of Battle, endeavoured five Times to discharge, and load, but were still prevented by the Storm; if ever the Highlanders wanted a Time for favouring their Broad

Swords,

Swords, it was the 17th January 1746, when not one Gun of 5 would fire, and not the 20th Man of the Army discharged; but as nothing happens, in the Course of Things without Instruments, so here, when a Detachment of their Cavalry, was going to pursue the Dragoons in their first Disorder, Collonel John Roy Steuart, cryed out, *Gentlemen keep your Ground, these are only Copes Dragoons, you have the Battle yet to fight.* Colonel Drummond, observing the Royal Scots to wheel, took the same as a Flight, and said, *these Men behaved admirably well at Fontenoy, and yet they are flying, I fear there is an Ambuscade:* And directly Orders were given for the Rebels to keep their Ranks: But lastly, after General Husk had marched off the Field, The Earl of Kilmarnock, Colonel of the Pretender's Life-Guard or Husks, being well acquainted with the Country, desired a Detachment, whom he offered to lead thro' a much nearer Road than that of Falkirk to Lithgow, by which he would intercept the Forces, but this was opposed.

In this Battle were slain on the Side of Rebels, about 300 Men, but none of Note, and as many wounded, among whom Lord John Drummond, thro' the fleshy Part of the Arm, by a Random Shot from one of the Soldiers Firelocks at Falkirk, Lochyel and his Brother in the Field, there was one Major MacDonald of Keppoch's Regiment, taken Prisoner in the following manner: He had seized one of the Dragoon Horses, which he mounted; the Creature on hearing the Drums Beat to rally, rode off with him, he endeavoured to thro' himself off, but the Horse run so furiously that he could not, and never halted till in the midst of his own Troop, where the Major was disarmed and secured.

On the Side of the King's Troops were killed about 200 Men, among whom Lieutenant Col. Whitney, a Gentleman of undaunted Courage, and of a Presence of Mind, only to be found among the Great; Coronets Monk and Crow of Collonel Ligoneir's Dragoons, and one taken Prisoner, viz. Lieutenant George Cumming, a Gentleman of a very amiable Character, Coronet Smith of General Hamilton's. Captains, Tod, Kellet, Dalrymple, Edmonson and Lieutenant Fairfield of General Blackney's; Captains, Dalton, Garing, Hamilton, Lauder, Hale, and Lieutenant Hickson of Collonel Wolfe's.

Captains

Captains, *Osrepo* and *Hacker* of General *Howard's*, with Lieutenant *Gollonel Powel* of Brigadier *Cholmondeley's* Regiment of Foot : Lieutenant Colonel *Biggar*, Captains *Hall*, *Fitzgerald* and *Witheral*, of Collonel *Monro's*.

Few of the Foot suffered, the Loss having fallen up on the Dragoons, of whom 170 were left upon the Spot, and 30 taken ; about 200 other Prisoners fell into their Hands, but these, for most Part, of the *Glasgow* and other Militia, the Volunteers, and By-standers, who foolishly went to view the Engagement. Captain *Thorntoun*, with 17 of his Company, shared the same Fortune, but afterwards found a Way to escape. He came to an honest Man's House in *Falkirk*, who generously concealed him in a Chest, (where he was at the Time the Rebels were in the very Room where he lurked in quest of him) till a proper Opportunity offer'd of his coming to *Edinburgh*. But the chief Man who died that Day was Col. Sir *Robert Munro* of *Foulis*, who being on Horseback, and receiving a Ball in the Breast dropt, his Brother Doctor *Duncan* a Physician observing this, being behind the Lines unarmed, rode into his Assistance, but alas, they were both miserably slaughtered, to such a Degree that had not Sir *Robert* been known by his Corpuleney, his Face could not be distinguished ; next Day the Pretender sent up to the Field, where both Sir *Robert* and Colonel *Whitney* were known, carried to *Falkirk* and honourably interred.—And now according to my Proposal I shall speak of the *Monros*, they are said to be descended of one *Donald Bunro*, a Son of *Ocaan Ro*'s a Nobleman upon the Water *Ro* in *Ireland*, who came with some Forces to the Assistance of *Malcolm II.* against the *Danes*, he got the Lands of East *Dingwal* called *Ferrin-Donald*, his Posterity afterward matched with several considerable Families, and the Estate of *Fowles* so called from *Loob-Feul* in *Ireland*, has continued in the Male Line, ever since. What Figure they made is not set down as far as I know, till the Year 1562, when they espoused the Quarrel of Queen *Mary* against the *Gordons*, who had almost reduced that Princess into their Power. In the Year 1631, *Robert Munro* of *Foulis* raised some of his Name and others, with whom he passed over into *Germany*, where *Gustavus Adolphus* was stirred up by Cardinal *Richeiu*, to shake the Throne of the Emperor *Ferdinand II.* of whose Power he was more afraid, than of the Thunders

ders of the *Vatican*; and here it is proper to set forth the Behaviour, to illustrate the Genius of the Clan. I would be as far from judging of a Name by some single Persons as any Man; but alas! what way have We of forming an Opinion of the Clans, who are clustered together in a Spot by themselves, except by the Instances produced from among them, especially when the whole Tribe are called to act in distant Places, from their own Habitations; and in describing a People, I would distinguish betwixt what flows from a sudden Passion, and that which proceeds from Forethought, the Degree of which is the Measure of Human Actions; besides all Names except the Clans, live at such a Distance, as to be ignorant of one another, but these can, at least some of them, trace themselves for 200 Years back.

And *imo*, When the Hero *Gustavus* landed at *Straelbound* in his Way to *Germany*, he earnestly besought his Soldiers, with a moving Eloquence peculiar to himself, not to commit any Outrages, but to behave suitable to the Character of the Deliverers of a pure Religion from Oppression, and of a People groaning under the heaviest Yoke; the whole Army obeyed, except one of the Name of *Munro*, who in *Stettin*, beat the Landlord and Landlady in his Quarters, in Contempt of the King's Command; for which next Day he was hanged. Colonel *Munro*'s Book whence I have taken this, is the only Voucher I know of their Bravery; but none of them surpassed the Rank of a Collonel, to which some were intitled by the Levies they made, and all he writes is far from coming up to that of some other *Scots Men*. With what Lustre does the Name of a *Leslie*, a *Dowglas*, a *Ramsay*, a *Hepburn*, and a *Ruthven* shine in the Annals of *Sweden*? Nor must we forget, that *Henderson*, who commanded the Reserve of the * Foot at the Battle of *Lutzen*, who restored the Victory, after the Death of the Royal Leader, upon whom depended the Protestant Cause: And by His well tim'd Aid, regain'd the *Swedish Cannon*, supported the staggering Troops, and at last turned the Scale.

Two of these *Munros* came to be employed in the Civil Wars, in the Days of *Charles I.* the Uncle espoused the Cause of the *Covenanters*, the Nephew that of the *Cavaliers*; the for-

* *Rushworth Collect. Vol. 5 Appendix.*

(140)

mer fell upon 22000 Papists in *Ireland*, whom he slaughtered in a terrible Manner, and destroyed their Lands and Cattle, so that they became desperate; *Anno 1644*. He with 5000 Foot and eleven Troops of Horse was routed, his Baggage and five Field-pieces were seized, most of his Officers were killed or taken Prisoners, *Anno 1646*. While in Power, by his Cruelty, he rendered the English Parliament odious to the *Irish*, and at last betray'd his Trust. *Whitelock, Page 334*, “ Col. Monk fell upon the *Scots* Quarters in *Ireland*, who were drawing out under Major-General Munro, to join with his Nephew Munro's Forces in *Scotland*, he took him and all his Forces Prisoners, Sept: 1648. Monk got 500*l* for his Pains.” *Ibid. Page 335*, “ The House ordered Munro to be committed to the Fleet, for joining with the Enemy in *Scotland*, and perfidiously breaking the Trust reposed in him.” His Nephew acted in *Scotland* in Imitation of his Uncle in *Ireland*, rendering the Cause of the Royalists here as odious as that of the Covenanters there. The Cruelties committed by him are terrible. When the Duke of *Hamilton* marched to *England* in 1648, Munro was sent with a Body of Men, but hearing of the Defeat of the Duke, he retreated, and resolved to fire the Coal Pits; but on receiving two Expresses from his Party, he returned with great Speed to make Head against *Argyle*. Of his March *Rushworth, Page 1373*, speaks thus, “ The sad Condition of the County of *Northumberland*, and of our Army in it, would make a Heart of Flint to melt, neither Corn nor Cattle did the wretched Army of Munro leave, whatever they were in the South that called in such Catterpillars, the North Part gives them no Thanks.” when he came to *Stirling*, the Marquis of *Argyle*, Earl of *Leven* and *David Leslie*, had about 6000 new raised Men; a Treaty of Agreement was made, but in the very Time of the Suspension of Arms, he ordered his Troops to fall upon the naked Men, which they did with the utmost Impetuosity, and killed them for 7 Miles round, *Argyle* scarcely escaping, out of the House where he was, *Whitelock Page 332*. His barbarous Orders executed in as barbarous a Manner, are spoken of with Abhorrence thro' the North to this Day. As his Conduct provoked the English Parliament to hasten the Trial of the King, so he with some others to the Number of 4000 Men, declared for *Charles II.* and seised *Inverness*, March

1649

1649, on which the Parliament outlaw'd him; and sent Forces against him, what came of him after, I cannot so well inform, but am ready to think that he went over to Ireland, for Whitelock Page 419 and 420 says, that December 1649, "Sir George Monro with 4000 Horse and Foot was defeated by Sir Charles Coote, who had only 200 Men engaged,— they fell upon their Rear,— Collonel Henderson was killed; as was Hamilton a Colonel of Foot, and most of the Foot Officers with 1400 Men" What Figure Commissary Munro made in the Time of Charles II. I do not incline to mention, nor yet him who conducted the French Fleet, to burn that of the Dutch in Bressa Sound; they have something of the Disposition of the Nighbouring Clans, tho' that of the Native Irish is most discernible in them; their Persons are clumsy but their Make is strong, they take any Spirit for Improvement which they have, from the MacKenzies, but represent the People of Sutherland in Coldness and Reserve; They are connected with the MacKays; but have Nothing of the native Comeliness of that People, like them they affect a Profession of Religion, which sometimes degenerates into the vilest Enthusiasm, I saw a Man (according to my best Remembrance of the Name of MacKay) who about 23 Years ago, was so deluded as to call himself Our Lord Jesus Christ; my Heart trembles when the Expression drops from my Pen; I was told, that the wretched Notion was carried so far, as that three of them stiled themselves the Trinity, whereof this Man was the Son, and that they sent out 12 whom they called Apostles; for Proof of the former, I appeal to the Presbytery Book of Dornoch, where I believe Vouchers of the latter likewise may be had; this I judged proper to insert; because such Instances of Delusion are so seldom since the Days of the Apostles, for from that Æra except one Man in France, who about the Year 538, took to himself the Name of Christ, none occurs to me. *Fordun Scot. Lib. 3d Cap. 39.*

They are like the Grants for Selfishness, but not so enticing at the first, for they generally are sullen and revengeful; nor are they free from the other Failings of the Northern Clans, such as a great Desire of Spirits, of which they are as immoderately fond, as Nature has been partial in furnishing of them. I knew some of them a little, and own that several of my Acquaintances, answer the Character

racter of their Ancestors, in the Days of *Charles I.* but not that of their late worthy Chieftain or his Father, who not only at the last Revolution, espoused the glorious Cause, and educated his Children in these Principles, but behaved very agreeably to every Person ; his Sons did good Service in the Years 1715, and 1719 : The Eldest raised his own Clan and earnestly pressed others to join with him, which they did, but left the Field at *Anas Bridge* upon Sight of the *MacKenzios*, without drawing a Sword ; the Cruelty of his Men, after suppressing the *Rebellions*, is strangely represented by their Nighbours, but Nothing of that can be imputed to him. He went to the Army when young, his Fortune being low, and by Means of Lieutenant General *Ross*, whose Interest he espoused at the Elections in *Ross Shire*, was raised to the Rank of a Captain in the Guards, in which he continued many Years, till the independent Highland Companies, were turned into a Regiment, whereof he was made Lieutenant Colonel. Through his whole Life, he made it his Business to raise the *Munros*, whose Misbehaviour sometimes mortified him, when complained of by such as he had engaged for their Interest. He behaved at *Fontenoy May 1st 1745*, with an undaunted Bravery ; and at *Falkirk* he fell by the Hands of *Rebels*, much lamented, as he was a Gentleman like those of his Mother's Race (*viz.* the House of *Culloden*) of a very generous Turn of Mind, having never sullied his Character, except at the Elections for the *Butgh of Dingwall*, which he so keenly pursued, as twice to be arraigned before the *Justiciary* ; he fell indeed by the Hands of Murderers, but in the Bed of Honour and Cause of his Country, being like some other brave Officers deserted by the private Men, leaving his Blood upon the Head of those, who continued for some Time to fill up the Measure of their Iniquity

While some of the Rebels are disposing of the Prisoners in several Places, such as the Churches of *Falkirk* and *Stirling*, and in the Prisons of these Towns and elsewhere, their main Body with the Pretender, gave a Summond in the Morning, and another in the Afternoon of the 18th, to the Castle to surrender, they were the more earnest to have that Fort put into their Hands, as the same secured their Communication with the Northern as well as the Western Parts of *Scotland*, whereof it may be called the *Key* ; but in this they were much

dis-

disappointed, for General Blakeney's Answer was this, That he was always look'd upon as a Man of Honour, and that the Rebels should find he would die so : The Seige therefore was continued, but proceeded very slowly, as well from their own Ignorance in, and Unfitness for besieging Towns, as from the Dispositions made by the Garrison, then consisting of 600 Men, for a vigorous Defence ; they made so constant and sometimes succesful a Fire upon the Men at Work on the Batteries, and those employed in placing the Fascines, whereof they had collected a great Number, that the Highlanders the Flower of their Troops refused to go near them : The Irish Brigade and Colonel Drummond's Regiment, were ordered to that Service, but these had been so much diminished by Desertion, and the late Battle, that scarce 300 of them were ready to go upon the Enterprise ; the first Thing they did was to discharge under pain of immediate Death, the Inhabitants of the Town, from going near the Castle, or corresponding with the Soldiers of the Garrison, in any way ; then under Cover of some Houses and Dykes they discharged some Shot from their small Arms without the least Effect ; but while this is doing, the Workmen are going on with the Batterys, two of which were compleated on the 24th ; these though erected under Cover of Wool Packs, did little other Hurt than damage the upper Part of the Walls. But that they might be the less diverted from Action, upon the 25th they sent the Prisoners taken at the late Battle to *Down Castle*, where they were shut up and met with great Hardships, through want of Provisions ; for though the Rebels had taken Care to seize all the Meal they could get in the Country, yet a Scarcity was visible among them, to which the Burning of their Boats, that passed over the *Forth*, by the King's Sloops not a little contributed.—And not only are they in Distress for want of a competent Subsistance, but now Disputes began to arise among them ; at the Action of the 17th, the *Clans* and *French* Picquets were the only People who stood in the Field ; for some of the other Corps, such as the *Angus* Battalions, and those who joined them at *Edinburgh*, betook themselves to Flight in an Instant and soon came to the Camp before *Stirling* ; the former complained much of the whole Weight falling upon them, pointed out, that if such as they brought with them, were once exhausted, they could not be

recruited

recruited from the Places where they came ; these Things they laid before the Pretender and his *Irish* Council, who smoothed them with fair Promises from *France*, which at that Time they expected; O *Sullivan* began now to be envied, and he to disdain their Councils, being chagrined at their not following his Advice ; he with Sir *Thomas Sheridan*, who had almost Nothing to lose, were supposed to have too much of the Pretender's Ear, and solely to govern his Counsels, while they whose Lives and Fortunes stood engaged, were in a Manner despised by these *Irish* Favourites ; the Adventurer observing their Disgust, thought of appeasing their rising Resentment, by conferring Posts upon their Officers, advancing each a Rank higher than he was, and treating them with somewhat more seeming Confidence ; yet still these two Politicians reigned in his Cabinet, and even at the general Consultations their Opinions prevailed ; but an Incident proved a great Mortification to them ; one *MacDonald* of *Clanrannalds* Family, Servant to *Glengary*'s second Son, then a Collonel among them, being in a Room with his Master, was handling one of the Firelocks, which were left upon the Field, the Piece in which were three Balls, accidentally went off, and shot Mr. *MacDonald* in three Places ; one of them pierced his Liver ; the Man was directly confined, and Justice demanded of him ; his Master declared his Innocence, but his own Friends insisted he should die, for say they, "if he live, it will be but the Beginning of a Grudge betwecn the two Families ;" the Man was shot, and his own Father was the last to pour a Brace of Bullets in him ; notwithstanding the Master forgave his Servant, and that he expiated his Misfortune with his Blood, yet still a Damp was visible among them ; to remove which, the Chevalier carried the Collonels Head to the Place of Interment, viz. the Grave of Sir *John Graham*, which was not opened from the Year 1296, till this Time, that the Pretender's Party inclined to impose upon the Highlanders in laying Mr. *MacDonald the Patriot* in the Burial Place of that ancient Warior; but must not any Person see what a Difference there is betwixt a Man fighting against a King of *England*, pursuing his Resentment against a Nation, and one rising in Arms to dethrone a King of *Britain*, who made Peace circulate around him ! What a Difference betwixt *England* then our provoked Enemy,

my, but now our best Friend? *England* justly abhors *France*, as the Rival of her Greatness, and *Scotland* ought to contemn her as the *Stirrer* up of her best Friends against her.

It will not appear incredible that the Rebels gave out the Victory at the late Battle to have been upon their Side; they published an Account from *Bannockburn*, in which they set forth that they killed 600, took 700 Prisoners, all the Baggage, Tents, Arms, Ammunition and Artillery: They attributed the Escape of the King's Troops to the Storm which favoured their precipitate Retreat, and blamed the Inequalities of the Ground, interspersed with such Risings and Hollows, that their Right could not perceive what was doing on their Left; diminished their Loss to only 40 killed, among whom two Captains, and some Subalterns, and about 80 wounded; I own such is the Weakness of human Nature, that Mankind are so partially fond of themselves, as to heighten what makes for their Interest, and to give a low and invurious Turn to what seems contrary to it; an Instance of which we have in the Enemies Relation of that gloomy Day; the very Retreat of the Soldiers with their Arms, puts it beyond Controversy, that there was a great Difference between *Halley's* Disappointment, and *Cope's* total Rout; while the Circumstances of dragging one, and carrying two Pieces of Cannon off the Field, confirm their Defeat, but not their total Dispersion. And indeed so little Weight had their Boastings upon the Inhabitants of the Country, that these wholly convinced, the Want of Success was only owing to the Tempest, continued their Offices of Kindness to the King's Troops, and did Things highly irritating to the Enemy: The Populace who rose in Arms upon the 16th, and liberated the Officers taken at the Battle of *Preston* from their Confinement at *St. Andrews*, *Cowper*, *Leslie*, *Glamis*, *Culross* and *Pitferren*, whether they had been sent some Time before, notwithstanding the Boast of a Victory on the Part of the Rebels, carried them to *Edinburgh*, where they arrived on the 19th; these worthy Gentlemen were at a Loss how to behave, did not dress like Military Men, till *February* 1st, that our Deliverer was chasing the Enemy before him; this Conduct was called by the Disaffected by no softer Term than Perjury; but whoever weighs the Matter, will find that even suppose
there

there was an Oath in the Case ; yet that Obligation is mutual ; that so long as the one Party exists in the same essential Quality as when the Oath was taken, the Bond on the other Party must exist likewise, but if the Relation is dissolved, then the Tye is loosed also, that there was a great Difference betwixt the Pretender when in the actual Possession of Scotland, and when flying before the King's Troops, unable to support the Dignity and Name he assumed.

While the Chevalier is pacifying his Clans, and busy at the Siege of Stirling Castle to give the more Reputation to his Arms, while the Country People are doing their best Offices to his Majesty's Troops, and Deserters coming to them, the Generals of the Army are preparing every Thing necessary to try the Fortune of a Battle a second Time ; They are no sooner in Edinburgh, than every Thing was assigned them for their Support ; the Dragoons were sent out to Musselburgh, Dalkeith, Haddingtoun and other Places in the Lothians. The Campbells were stationed at Carlorphin, Cramond and the adjacent Villages. A Court Martial of which Brigadeir Mordaunt was President, directly sat for the Trial of some Officers and Soldiers for misbehaving at the late Action, and of such Deserters as were found on Board the Lewis Privateer formerly named, the other Prisoners taken in that Vessel, having been transported to London some Time before ; the Guilty were severely punished, and the Innocent acquitted and encouraged to their Duty ; before the 25th every Thing was almost ready for a second Engagement ; the Glasgow Militia were honourably dismiss'd, as the Time they were engaged to serve was expired. Their Officers unanimously assured the Generals, that they were willing to serve their King and Country at their own Expence, and that they would be ready at a Call, whenever their Attendance should be judged necessary, or in the least Degree useful : Brigadeir Sempill's and General Campbell's Regiments had arrived before the 20th, and the Military Chest escorted by a Troop of St. George's Dragoons came in on the 21st for Payment of the Army : tho' these Things were not the Deed of the Generals, yet they were not wanting in their Care to redress the late Misfortune, and prepare for the Fight ; a particular Account of the late Battle was sent through the Country, in order to support the Spirits,

Spirits which were now beginning to drop ; the View of the miserable State of the Rebel Prisoners, who marched out of *Carlisle* January 10th, with their Legs held below their Horses Bellies, made People believe the whole was ended ; the Horses tied to one another's Tail, the common Men on Foot two a Breast, each having their Arms tied with a Rope going between, headed by two Dragoons, one of whom held the Rope, that went between the Prisoners, two bringing up the Rear, and several others supporting the whole, looked as if the Troubles had come to a Close. A real State of Affairs was dispatched to the King and Court, whose Astonishment at the News, was in proportion to their Confidence of the Rebellion having almost breathed her last ! For his Majesty had upon the 24th come to the House of Peers, and made a Speech to both Houses of Parliament ; in which after observing the steady Loyalty of his Subjects, he mentioned the Flight of the Enemy out of *England*, before a small Number of his Troops ; that he had sent such a Body of his National Forces to *Scotland*, as could not fail, with the *Hessians* whom he ordered to land there, to extinguish the Rebellion in a short Time ; he informed them of the Election of an Emperor by his Means ; of the Peace concluded at *Dresden* between the Emperor, the Kings of *Poland* and *Prussia*, which happened in Consequence of the Convention between him and that Monarch, whose Designs appeared only in the Execution of them ; the Succours he procured to be sent into *Italy*, and of the pressing Instances made to him by the States General for Assistance against the Attempts of Enemies, on their Barrier. Both Houses drew up an Address, in which they congratulated him on the Success of his Arms, under his Royal Highness, returned their hearty Thanks for his paternal Care in the whole of his Conduct, assured how great Pleasure they took in the several Things he had done, both at Home and Abroad, and of their Fidelity to him on all Occasions.

One cannot be surprized that a Consternation accompanied the News of the late unfortunate Action : To recover People from their Surprise, his Majesty ordered 16 Pieces of Brass Cannon, with Stores, about 40 Gunners and Matroses, to set out from *Newcastle*, for the Army, which they did, and arrived upon the 26th, he likewise appointed the Dra-

goons of General *Bland* and *St. George*, with the Duke of *Kingstone's* Horse, to reinforoe General *Hally* with whose Conduct he declared himself so well pleased, as to continue him in his Command, and not content with these Things, he sent the *British Joshua*, *William* his own Son to revive his Cause, and hasten our Deliveran e.

No sooner are the News of the Battle of *Falkirk* confirmed at Court, than the illustrious *Hero*, flys like an Arrow to give Law to the Pretender ; he set out from *St. James's* about one o'Clock in the Morning of the 25th. Fears at his Appoack, like Vapours before the Sun, dissolve as he goes, and as the natural-Sun communicates to the Bodys around him of his genial Heat, in Proportion to his Progres\$ in the Ecliptic, so the further this Royal Youth proceeds, the more of his Influence is tendered to the People, who came twenty Miles round to see him ; by the way of *Newcastle* and *Berwick*, he arrived at the *Abbey of Hollyroodhouse* upon the 30th about three in the Morning, attended by *James Duke of Athole* the *Earl of Albemarle*, his Son *Lord Bury*, *Lord Cathcart*, and some other Officers. The City in Expectation of him the Night before, expressed their Joy, for the coming of their Deliverer, by the most splendid Illuminations, Ringing of Bells, and other Demonstrations of Gladness ; Numbers of People though the Day was desperately Cold, run to meet him. He went to Bed, rose at eight o'Clock, began to Buiness : and wrote to his Royal Father, and Duke of *Newcastle*, anent the State of Affairs, then dressed and received those who came to him ; the General Officers first waited of him, with an Account of what past ; the Soldiers much disheartned at the late Disaster crowded to him ; his very Presence raised them almost from Despair, to a Confidence of Victory ; the Wives of the deceast murdered Patriots, the Orphans and Childeſs hoped the Vengeance, due to the Deaths of their best Friends, was approaching ; the Nobility, principal Inhabitants, and such Lords of Session as were in Town, went to congratulate him ; about one o'Clock the Reverend Presbytery of *Edinburgh*, and such Ministers as were in the Place, walked in Procession to welcome him ; and had each the Honour to kiss his Hand, He gave them a distinguished Reception : A certain majestic Nobleness and Sweetness, mixt

with

with an affectionate Tenderness, appeared in his Countenance : *Lastly*, came the Masters of the University in their Gowns, preceeded by the Mace. No sooner are these Compliments over, than unable to stay a Moment from Action, he walked down Stairs, and viewed the 16 Pieces of Cannon in the Close ; as he came out of the Gate, the Drums rufled, a loud and continued Huzza ensued, the Aged blessed him, and shed Tears of Joy, the Young admired him, and those of middle Years desired only to dy in a Field under his Command ; “ O ! what Difference betwixt him and the other “ Prince (meaning the Pretender) ” he looks far better than he, was the Languor of the affected Multitude ; incapable to behold so moving a Scene, he passed along the Cannon placed in two parallel Lines, never took his Eye from off them : And afterwards returned, sat down to Dinner, and then began to concert the Operations of the Army, he caus’d inspect the Arms and Ammunition of the Soldiers, who were ordered to be in Readiness by Four next Morning to march ; before Nine at Night, his Command was secretly told, every one prepared himself, and next Morning at the Time appointed, were ready to proceed ; they were not encumbered with Multitudes of idle Spectators, who consumed much of the Provision and Forage destined for their Use, besides other Inconveniences ; for not only had Intimation been made from the Pulpits, that all, except such as brought Provision and Forrage or Information for the Army, should be fired upon, if they presumed to approach within a Mile of it without a Pass from some of the Generals, or Lord Justice Clerk, but the Dragoons of *Hamilton* and *Ligonier* were ordered to patrol along the Roads leading Westward from *Edinburgh*, to prevent any Intelligence coming to the Enemy. About half five in the Morning, they set out in two Columns, consisting of 14 Battallions of Foot, the *Argyle* Shire Highlanders, *Cobham’s* Dragoons, and Lord *Mark Ker’s*, these last and two of the Battallions of Foot, viz. the *Scots Fuzileers* and *empe’s*, were not in the late Action ; so that by the Reinforcements they got, their Loss at it, was more than made up ; General *Husk* led the Van, and the Artillery brought up the Rear. At Nine his Royal Highness entered a Coach, which was sent him by the Earl of *Hoptoun*, whose Gene-

Generosity to the Soldiers was such, that he sent twelve Guineas to every Foot Regiment as they arrived, and 25 to the Argile Shire Highlanders. He caused drive up the Cannon-gate, down St. Mary's Wynd, through the Cowgate, and Grass-Market, and alighted at Castle-Barns, where he mounted on Horse-back, and came quickly up with the Troops, put himself at the Head of the *Scots Royal*, and with eight Battallions went to *Lithgow* where he quartered. Brigadeir *Mordaunt* with six Battallions, marched to *Borrowstounness*, the Dragoons to the adjacent Villages, and the Argile Shire Men in Front, towards the Avon; next Day the whole Army was put in Motion, and formed in Order of Battle; they all passed in Review before their illustrious General as they drew up, when the Highlanders past, he seemed much delighted with their Appearance, said, *they look very well have Breeches,—and are the better of that.* His serene looks, inspired the whole with a Desire of coming to Blows. Then they proceeded, expecting every Moment to engage; and arrived at *Falkirk* about Ten in the Morning, when to their great Disappointment, no Enemy was near them: But Oh! who can tell the Joy of the wounded Men, who were made Prisoners on the 17th, when their Deliverer came to release them, and appeared in their Sight to avenge their Sufferings! He immediately detatched Brigadeir *Mordaunt* to *Stirling* with the Dragoons and the *Campbells*, in Pursuit of the Enemy, who were now out of Reach.

For on hearing the Arival of the Duke, they held a Council of War, in which the grand Question was, Retreat or Fight? the Pretender and the Forreign Officers seemed for the latter; Lord *George Murray* and the Highland Chieftains declared for the former, alledging the Increase of the Royal Army and the Diminution of their own, for about 1500 Highlanders had repaired to their wild Habitations, with the rich Spoils of *England*, those of the southern Parts of *Scotland*, and the Booty got at *Prestoun* and *Falkirk*. The Siege of the Castle of *Stirling*, now exhausted almost of Firing and Provision, was raised; 'ere the Hero whose Name bore the Force of an Army, was within 23 Miles of it. On the 31st they moved off their Baggage, with about 20 Pieces of Cannon, having spiked up some others, and crossed the Forth

at the *Frow*, but before they retreated, there was a considerable Quantity of Powder and Ball, laid up in the Church of *St. Ninian*, to which they attempted to set Fire ; but the Train missed ; about 7 Stragglers who lagged behind, went to the Church in Quest of Prey (and indeed great Quantities of Household Furniture had been hidden in it) in the mean Time, a private Man called *MacIntosh*, at the Desire of a French Engineer, came to the Window, fired a Pistol through it ; the Shock was sudden, the Powder blaz'd, the 7 Plunderers, the Incendiary, the Seats and Roof blew up in the Air, the Stones flew about the Church-Yard, a few of the Towns People were struck while the whole were stunned at the terrible Convulsion ; the Report was heard by the Royalists, who rightly judged it an Indication of a Retreat, while the Rebels taking it for an Attack on their Rear, redoubled their Flight to *Crief*, where they held a Council of War, in which they appointed *Inverness* for the place of Rendezvous. They divided into two Bodies, one of which took the Rout of *Perth*, which they continued entring from Nine in the Morning of the 2d Feb. till the 4th, when the Place was entirely evacuated by them. Here they nailed up 13 Pieces of Brass Cannon, about 8 and 12ve Pounders, and threw the Swivels taken out of the Hazard Sloop, into the *Tay*. Afterward they subdivided, 7 Pieces of Cannon and 14 Carts with Ammunition, were escorted by Lord *Lewis Gordon's* Men, who went for *Dunkeld*, crossed *Braemar*, in their Way to the North ; Majors *Nairn* and *Kennedy* went by *Dundee*, 300 of the French Piqueets, the Life Guards, Lord *Ogilvie's*, *Pitflog's*, *Elchoe's*, and Sir *James Kinloch's* Battallions, with Lord *George Murray*, took the Road of *Cowpar of Angus*, and proceeded to *Montrose*, where they put two Pieces of Cannon, on Board of a small Boat, which coasted along, and kept Pace with themselves ; thence they marched to *Aberdeen*, and then directed their March, some by *Old Meldrum* and *Bamff*, some by *Inverurie* and *Strathbogie*, where Lord *George Murray* halted two Days, when he proceeded to meet the Pretender, now hastning forward to the Place appointed.

He with *Perth* Lord *John Drummond*, *Kilmarnock*, Lord *Nairn*, *Brigadeir Stapleton*, *Secretary Murray*, the French

Ambassador and the Clans passed along *Taybridge* to *Dalnacardich*, which thro' lingring at *Fairntoun* and some other Places, he did not reach till the 7th ; next Day, three Field Pieces came up, from this he dispatched Couriers to those *MacPherson's*, *Cameron's* and *MacDonald's*, who had retired with Plunder from his Camp ; in Prospect of more they reported to him, so that from the 10th, that he appeared before the Castle of *Ruthven* to the 14th, his Numbers increased to 3000 strong ; The Garrison of *Ruthven* was summoned to surrender, the Siege only lasted till Lieutenant *Mulloy* obtained of *Glenbucket* to come out on Porole : The Article was agreed to. That Officer with his Command, viz. 12 Men, were conducted to *Blair*, leaving the Barracks, on which the Government had bestowed vast Sums, to Highlanders, who insensible of their own Advantages, directly blew them up. From thence he sent Deputies to the *Grants* then in Arms for the Government, threatening them with a Visit if they did not embrace a Neutrality.

The Orders were obeyed, four Gentlemen of that Clan came to him in Name of the rest, embraced the Terms proposed, and gave Hostages for the Performance of them ; After this he marched to *Moy* the Residence of the Laird of *MacIntosh* where he lodged, the Earl of *Loudon* being at *Inverness*, within eight Miles of him, contrived a Surprise. He consulted two Officers, and laid down his Scheme of seizing the Pretender in the Night Time. The Design was approved ; about three in the Afternoon of the 16th, Centries were posted at the Avenues, and Intimation was made to the Town's People, to keep within Doors, and to the Officers of each Corps privately by himself to repair to *Barnsby* to the East of the Town at Six o'Clock, all which was obeyed ; when they were drawn up, his Lordship walked along the Line, directed each Company to follow the Guides he had assigned them ; he ordered them to fire upon any Body of Men they might see, but not to trouble any small Company, except for Intelligence ; about four Men of the advanced Guard were sent before the rest, who mistaking them for the Enemy, fired upon them, and killed a Piper.

The Report of the Guns echoed through the Hills, and the Rumour of Lord *Loudon's* Approach, founded in the

Ears

Ears of the Pretender, who was sitting at a Fire with his Garters loose, and Shoes untied. In that Condition, he took to his Heels, flying out of the House, run three Miles and roan'd through these Wilds till next Morning, that he was found by his Party. Lord Loudon finding his Plan was discovered, retreated to his former Camp, and waited the Motions of the Enemy, now recovered from their Consternation, and in full March to beat up his Quarters.

Feb. 18. The Rebels were at the East End of the Town, when the Royalists moved from the High Street where they were drawn up, they marched along the Bridge, and were all passed before the Enemy entered the Place; To follow their Course was impracticable as the Castle which commands the Bridge, made a continued Fire upon it, they proceeded with Pipes playing and Colours Flying, to the Ferry of *Kessoch*, where Boats were prepared to transport them. The Rebels observing this, crossed by the east End of the Town, to the Mouth of the Ness, where that River discharges itself into the Sea, planted two Pieces of Cannon, and fired upon them, some Balls lighted among the Stones and Pebbles upon the Shore, some of which were raised and scattered around them, several Balls flew over the Heads of the Commanding Officers while in the Boats, the whole got safe to the other side, quartered that Night at *Red-Castle*, and next Day retired to *Inverbreaky*, where they encamped, and kept a Correspondence with the regular Forces.

In the mean Time, the Rebels took Possession of the Town, and at Night began to lay Sege to the Castle, then sufficiently provided for a Defence, they planted Cannon on the Trenches which Lord Loudon had digged, and sent a Drum to the Governour, viz. Major *George Grant* a Brother of the late Sir *James Grant*, to demand the Place, after some Reasoning, it was agreed that all Firing should cease; but the Rebels contrary to the Treaty, advanced toward the Garrison in the Dark, and broke Ground to the East of the Town, about 21 Yards nearer than before; a Friend having Intelligence of what was doing, found Means of conveying Letters to the Gunner, narrating the Progress of the Enemy; he faithfully communicated his Advices to the Governour; the Guns were brought to bear upon the *Trench*, whence the Rebels were driven with Precipitation, scarcely taking Time to

carry off their wounded Men. They betook themselves to an old Kiln, where they planted a large Piece of Cannon, fired upon the Garrison and broke some of the Slates. Next Day both Sides furiously plied each other, with none other Loss on the King's Part, but of one Man killed, on the other some few were hurt, among whom a poor Woman was accidentally shot in the Breast ; during this Firing, Workmen were set to undermine the Northern Bastion, of which the Garrison were so well apprised, as to have the Place where they began to work particularly described.

Lieutenant Grahame of Colonel Guise Regiment and some others, threw Granades upon them during the Night ; the Military offered to countermine the Besiegers, and stand in the most difficult Place upon the Defence, the Munroes and Rosses agreed to the Scheme, proposed to fall out upon them, but all in vain ? a Method was laid down of taking up the Barrels of Powder, whenever they should be laid in : The Governour no sooner heard of the Mine, than he was for Capitulating, and declared against the Means mentioned for oposing of it ; 100 of his Name, under the Command of Rothimurchas, whose Father was an Hostage, must certainly be spared ; on the Morning of the third Day, he hung out a white Blanket ; a Deputy was sent directly to know what it meant, a Surrender was proposed, the Terms demanded by the Governour, were that he and all the Garrison might come out with all the Honours of War, which last was refused, but he was proffered his Liberty with the Goods which he had ; the Articles were agreed to, and desired to be drawn up, the other Officers repaired to him, and prayed him to have them included in them ; he told them he would ; their Terms were drawn out in Writing and given to him ; but thro' some Mistake, he forgot to have them signed with his own ; Perth, Lord John Drummond and Colonel Cuthbert took Possession of the Fort in the Pretender's Name, the Governour's Articles were fulfilled, but the rest of the Garrison were closely confined, met with great Hardships, being obliged to ly upon the bare Ground without Cloths for some Days, till they were sent to Forres ; but at Nairn the most if not the whole Officers went out at the Back-Window of an Inn, where they were lodged except

except the Captain Master of *Ross*, who refused not only to swear he would not lift Arms against the Chevalier, but even to make his Escape; the private Men were brought back, but several *Grants* enlisted with the Enemy, while others by the Neutrality, were either dismiss'd for their Health, or allowed to depart thro' the Interest of Friends among the Rebels.

When all was over, the Pretender came from *Castle-hill*, where he lodged, into the Town, now in the Power of his Troops, and had the Pleasure of seeing the Principal Garrison of the North in their Hands; in it were found 12 Pieces of Cannon, 100 Barrels of Beef, 16 Barrels of Powder and Ball, besides other Ammunition and Military Stores; A Governor was immediately appointed, but his Command was short-lived; for as the *Highlanders* complained of their Blessings, viz. Forts and Garrisons among them, it was judged proper to eraze these as they fell into their Hands; A Train of Powder was laid before the Bastions, which were successively blown up; At one of them a French Captain (the very Person who directed the burning of St. *Ninian's Church*) with a small Dog, made too near an Approach: the Engineer look'd into the Train from a Corner, while the Animal stood upon a large Stone directly above it; The Powder fir'd, a Whirle from it blew the Captain up in the Air; he fell in the Water about two Yards from Shore, the Circlings described by his Body were strange, yet by their Uniformity it was not much jumbled; his Hat and Wig fell by his side, 4 Guineas and a Watch were found in his Pocket, but such as had seen him that Day declared that he had six more; being quite dead, he was taken up and afterward interred. The Creature was flung by the Shock to the other Side of the River, where he fell into a Yard newly digged, but received little Damage, being preserved from Suffocation by the Stone on which he stood. Thus a Fort was demolished on which the Government had expended 50,000 l.

The Chevalier having got his Forces to the Place, and blown up two Forts, did every Thing that he thought might tend to promote his Cause, tho' he neglected that material Part of proclaiming his *Royal Father*. He twice detached a Party of 2000 Men under *Barrisdale*, by the Way of *Beulie*, 6 Miles from *Inverness*, but twice they returned without

Success, for Lord Loudon had effectually cut off their Pursuit, by scaving the Boats, which as he passed the Ferrys, were hawled to the oppofite Shore; However once it was rumoured that a Skirmish had happened, in which the Royalists were defeated, and the Laird of M^cIntosh a Loyal Captain was killed; the News were gladly received, the Pretender gave a Ball, and danced with the Lady, to comfort her for the Loss of her Husband. He then fent a Detachment to *Fort Augustus*, which being naturally weak fell into their Hands; A Serjeant and 12 Men kept them off from the old Tower till Cannon were planted against it; Here they fixed Batteries against the new Fortifications, Major Wentworth the Governor caused Fire upon them, two of them were killed, and perhaps they would have been kept longer in Play, but a Ball falling into the Powder Magazine, the Garrison consisting of three Companies of *Guise's* Regiment surrendered to the Enemy. The Fort is turned into a Place of Confinement to the Prisoners whom they could not transport, and so continued until the Day before their Schemes were dashed in Pieces, when it was blown up. The Country People dazzled with these Instances of Success, brought them Provisions, and did what Kindness they could to the Rebels, who from the Time of the Surrender of *Fort George* were hastning up to the Camp.

The Troops which took the Coast Way, were upon the 16th near *Elgin*, which they entered as they arrived. That Day, 30 Horse crossed the *Spey*, advanced to the Town where they demanded Billets for 5000 Men, and Stables for 400 Horses. Of some Gentlemen, they required 1000 Stone of Hay, 10 Load of Straw, and 20 Bolls of Oats, under Pain of Military Execution; Next Day 100 Chests of Arms, Powder and Ball, escorted by a Party of Col. *Roy Stewart's* Regiment came in, and some Hours after, Lord *Elcho's* arrived. These Chests had been landed from two *Spaniard* Privateers which brought Money and Ammunition, one of them was afterwards taken and burnt, but the other got safe to *Dunkirk*, where he communicated the News of the Pretender's Rout. On Tuesday their Main Body consisting of the *M^cIntoshs* with their followers, viz. the *Shaws*, *M^cDays* &c. and *John Roy Stewart's* Squade, the *Farquharsons*, all the French

French Picquets and Brigades, Lord John Drummond's and Lord Lewis Gordon's Regiments. Here as in most Towns on the Road they drew up, surrounded the Cross, proclaimed the Pretender, by reading his Manifestoes, and ended the Scene, by drinking Heaths, Huzzings, beating of Drums, and throwing Glasses over their Heads; And here it is observable, that the Attendance of the Magistrates, who were confined, by the Mediation of Friends, was dispensed with. On the 18th, they marched to *Forres* and *Nairn*, leaving at *Elgin*, Lord Lewis Gordon's Corps, some Farquharsons and Horse under Lord Pitligo, and arrived at *Inverness* the very Day the Garrison surrendered. The Customs and Excise were exacted thro' the Country, the Cess Books were brought in, those lyable were not only ordered to pay in their Arrears, but 5 l. was laid on every 8 l. 6 s. 8 d. of valued Rent, and demanded on Pain of military Execution, which was put in Force against those who refus'd to comply; the Gentlemen of the Country were ordered under the same Pain to bring in their Meal, for which a Discount was promised from their Levy-money and Cess, yea they were proffered the Ballance if these did not Answer; but alas severals who had brought in Meal to the Extent of both, got no Payment thereof. After this they settled in their Camp, but sent Detachments 30 Miles around them, till the 13th April three Days before the Vengeance due to their Crimes fell upon them.

Our Deliverer having heard of their Flight, and sent some Forces to *Stirling*, upon the 1st of *February*, from *Falkirk*, where he received the Compliments of the City of *Glasgow*, set out upon the 2d, arrived at *Stirling* about three o'Clock in the Afternoon, and entered the Place, amidst the repeated Acclamations of the Multitude, who were answered by three Rounds from the Cannon of the Castle; scarce is he here six Hours when Secretary Sir Everard Fawcener, General *Bland*, and Lord *Ancram* came up; He stayed only till the 4th, when the Arch of the Bridge, that had been blown up by General *Blakeney*, for retarding the Progress of the Enemy, was repaired, with the Timber the Rebels had procur'd. That Day the Army marched, and came to *Crief*, on the 5th; Parties were sent to seize the Duchess of *Perth*, and Viscountess

countess of *Strathallan*, these Incendiaries of the Rebellion ; The Orders were executed, the two Ladies were escorted to the Castle of *Edinburgh*, where upon the 11th, they were closely confined ; *Perth's Horses* which were of the finest Brood in Britain, were secured, the Hay and Forage in the Parks were seized, and prov'd of good Service to the Dragoons : Next Day they proceeded to *Perth*, where Magazines of Provisions were laid in. Here the Nobility, and Ministers waited of him, and the Towns sent Deputies to him, as well as Addresses to his Royal Father ; but no Visits could divert him from his main Business. Detachments were instantly sent out to secure the Passes ; Lieutenant Colonel Sir *Andrew Agnew*, was dispatched to *Dunkeld*, with 500 Foot, and 120 of the *Campbells* ; Lieutenant Colonel *Leighton*, with 500 to *Castle Menzies*, and others to the respective Places, by which the Rebels were apprehended to return : These Parties were replaced by other Forces, as they arrived ; for *St. Georges Dragoons* who came to *Edinburgh*, on the 5th, and *Kingston's Horse* upon the 17th, directly proceeded to the Camp, and were met partly by some Prisoners taken from the Enemy, and partly by Officers and Soldiers relieved by their Deliverer.

The Time was come, when the *Hessians* were to be employ'd, in Consequence of the following Agreement ; viz. that they should receive the same Pay, with the National British Troops, that they should only be employed in Great Britain ; and in Support of her Allies, in the Low Countries, that the Charge of their Transportation, both coming and going should be defrayed, that 80 Crowns should be payed for every Horesman that should be wanting, and 30 for every Foot Soldier ; a subsidy of 150,000 Crowns per Annum, should be payed to the King of *Sweden*, during the Term of the Treaty ; and 250,000 in Case, they should be dismissed before the Determination of it : 5000 of them repair'd to *Williamstadt*, where they embarked on Board 36 Transports on the 5th; and under Convoy of 4 Men of War, arrived in *Leith Road* about 5 o'Clock at Night of the 8th. They were saluted by a Round of the great Guns of the Castle, and from the Ships in the Harbour, and Road.

That

That Night Prince Frederick of *Hesse*, the Duke of *Wolfenbuttle's Son*, the Earl of *Crawford* and several Officers of Distinction landed, and next Day as they entered the Palace of *Holyrood-house*, the Garrison repeated the salute : At Noon the principal Inhabitants attended him with their Congratulations, and at Night Lord Justice Clerk gave him an elegant Entertainment, at which were present several Nobility and Officers, among whom, Lord *Mark Ker*, General of Foot and Governour of the Castle of *Edinburgh* ; who that Day arrived and entered the Garrison. The Forces were kept on board, till Orders for disembarking them, came from the Duke, to whom an Express was immediately dispatched. They were all landed before the 13th, and cantoned in the City and Neighbourhood, where they observed a very strict Discipline ; for except two who brought a Calf which they skinned, and did not pay for it, no Outrage was committed ; they were really very fine Troops ; armed with Guns, Bayonets and Swords ; cloathēd in Blue with white Livery, whose Shape was varied for Distinction ; their Hussars about 500 looked extreamly well, wore Scymitars of a great length, which hung by a Cord tied round their Body. Their Horses were long tail'd, of a strong Make, and generally black, of a much less Size than those of the British Army, but more durable and fit for Use. They were mostly *Swedish*, or of that Brood, which is reckoned among the most serviceable in the Northern Nations.

Our Deliverer, affoon as Time would permit, set out from his Camp for *Edinburgh* upon the 18th, attended by Lord *Cathcart*, and a few Servants. He was at *Kinghorn* about One o'Clock Afternoon, and sent to the Man of War for a long Boat, in which he crossed the Firth, and landed at *Leith* about Three. The Prince of *Hesse* and Officers of Distinction went to the Pier to meet him ; the most endearing Embraces, flowing both from the Blood that united them, and the common Interest in which they were engaged, past between the two Princes, while the People testified their Joy by repeated Acclamations. The whole Company went in Coach to the *Abbey*, where the two Royal Brothers dined in Publick, and then concerted the Operations of the Army, which will afterwards appear in the Execution of them. Next Morn-

ing

ing about Nine, he returned, and as at his Entrance, so on his going out of the Palace, he was saluted by a compleat Round from the great Guns of the Castle ; and as he sailed by the Men of War, they pay'd him their Compliments, Having come to the Camp, and settled Detachments in several Posts, on the 20th he put the Troops in Motion in four Divisions ; two of them took the Road of *Cowpar of Angus*, whether two Battalions of Foot, and 250 Horse had march-ed on the 14th ; the other that of *Dundee*, whither the like Number had gone : the Artillery followed, crossed the *Tay* at *Perth*, and through *Forfar* and *Brechin* arrived at *Mon-trose* upon the 22d, along with the Army. Here a Court Martial sat for the Trial of some Officers ; One was brought before them, for rising the House of Mr. *Oliphant of Gask*, the Charge was proven and he was broke : An Instance of Moderation to Rebels unparalleled, except in the other Actions of the Hero ! On the 24th, he emitted a Proclama-tion for such as had returned with their Arms, or such as had any of their Effects, to bring them in, those who had been assisting to them, and lurking about the Country, to give in their Names and Places of Abode, to the Magis-trate or Minister, of the Church of *Scotland*, and entirely to submit to the Kings Mercy. Who but the infatuated would have slighted his Commands ? Since Obedience was a Recom-mendation to Compassion ; few comply'd ; the Pretenders Private Soldiers were kept in Ignorance of what was doing, the Officers, conscious of Guilt, were afraid to risque them-selves, or submit to their Deliverer. The Flame of Rebellion now raging, was not softly to be blown out ; the dreadful Com-bustion was too much fermented, instantly to cease. The Fire at the begining of the Troubles was indeed hidden, but in such Manner, that the first Spark was enough to make it general among the disaffected *Highlanders* ; As the Pretender advanced, the confused and menacing Uproar, the loud and bitter Complaint of his Followers, for the real Ad-vantages and Blessings of the British Nation, denounced the fatal Catastrophe that ensued ; no Regard was paid to Digni-ty ; and Endeavours were vain to oppose that Fury, which was too much animated to give Ear to Remonstrances. *France* and *Rome* had blown the Coal, and the Flame was still fo-mented ;

mented ; In the Height of their Rage they had broke thro' the Laws, and spread themselves thro' the Country, crying out, (*the Hannoverian Race must be exterminated;*) at Preston and Falkirk, Hundreds were sacrificed to that Vengeance which continued to double its Violence till WILLIAM appeared. Then indeed the Country began to take Breath, after half an Year of most terrible Commotion ; but in general, the Scene of Things was not changed, the Carnage having only removed to some other Parts, and extended itself to the Northern Countries.

His Royal Highness on the 26th set out for Aberdeen, where he arrived by the Coast Way on the 28th with the Troops. The Magistrates went out to meet him, he entered the Town amidst the repeated Acclamations of Multitudes who lined the Streets and were unable to resist his Charms ; The Masters of both Colleges stood before the Gate welcomed him, and next Day waited of him, as did the Ministers of the Synod, and were most graciously received. The Nobility and Gentry flocked in, such as the Duke of Gordon, the Earls of Aberdeen, Kintore and Findlater, Lords Forbes and Strichen ; and at last the Laird of Grant with 100 of his Name ; This Step was judged by the Rebels a Breach of the Neutralitry ; They sent Lord Nairn with some Battalions to Strathpey to remonstaate against it, he was told, that an handsome Retinue attending their Chieftain, was no substantial Infringement of their Bargain ; Nairn being appeased, returned with reiterated Promises of their faithfully observing the Terms agreed on.

While the Army continued here waiting for Provisions which were sent them by Sea, the *British Joseph*, was sometimes in Danger by Rebels, and some of his Father's Subjects, whom here I may call his Brethren ! Some abandoned Desperadoes were taken up in Women's Cloaths, with Arms concealed and hidden about them, while others more furious, thanwise, entered into Conspiracies against his valuable Life, amongst whom *John Roy Stewart*, who bound himself with an Oath, that he would bring his Head to the Hand of the Pretender ; for this Purpose, he got a soft Skin, upon which he sewed an artificial Beard, put on the Habit of a Countryman, and went into Aberdeen driving a Horse with Forage for the Dragoons,

Dragoons, a young Man accidentally came to an Inn, where such Circumstances were told him as made him conjecture Mr. Steuart's Design, he repaired directly to the Camp, and informed General Bland of the Project; which he instantly communicated; the Ports of the Town were shut, the Avenues were guarded, and a general Search was made, but the Assassin was hid in a Hay Loft by one of the Disaffected, with whom that Place doth almost abound. This Plot hindered his Royal Highness from going to the Church, because it was given out, that the Design was to be executed there, but from none other Thing: He daily rose at four, reviewed his Troops, appeared at publick Entertainments, and walked the Streets with his Officers. He likewise sent out Parties to scour the Country, one of which consisting of 200 Foot and 80 Horse, marched up the Don, to seize upon the Rebel Magazines, and to recover the Booty of the Southern Counties which they conceal'd; the Ministers shewed them the Shallows and Fords, directed them to the Magazines and valuable Effects then buried in the Snows upon the Tops and Sides of the Mountains; during this Search none but actual Rebels were molested, Instances may be produced of this, a Party of Soldiers went to a Rebel Gentleman's House, and rob'd it: the Officer was tried and broke for his Pains, another was serv'd in the same Manner for taking 6 Guineas from a Merchant, as a Reward to preserve his Goods from being spoil'd; yea Nothing was wanting to animate the Troops and protect the Country, on the Part of her Deliverer.

All this Time, viz. from the 23d of February to the 5th of March, the Hessians successively defil'd, to replace the British Troops, and were saluted from the Great Guns of the Castle as they pass'd. On the 5th, his Serene Highness march'd in the following grand Manner; 1. His Highness's Coach; 2. the Prince of Hessenberg; 3. the led Horses; 4. His Serene Highness himself with several Nobility, Gentry and Officers around him; 5. the Col. of the Hussars with his Corps, holding their Sabres naked in their Hands; 6thly, the Corches; 7thly, the Earl of Crawford, with three Hussars and drawn Sabres; 8thly, the covered Waggons; 9thly, the Col. of his Highness's Guards in a Chaise; the Baggage clos'd the whole. He had all the Honours paid him at Edinburgh that cou'd

could be expected ; several grand Balls and Concerts were given, at which was the most numerous Appearance of Nobility and Gentry of both Sexes richly dressed, particularly on the 21st of February, the Night preceding the Anniversary of the Birth of his Consort the British Princess Mary, when he was splendidly and elegantly entertained. In his March, the Country People to render his Journey agreeable, lined the Roads as he past, and offered little Presents to his Soldiers, according to their Ability. As he entered *Stirling*, the same Honours were paid him as formerly the Duke; thence he moved to *Perth*, where he encamped, and continued to send out Detachments to scour the Country. One of these viz. 20 Hussars marching to *Dunkeld*; as they drew near, a Body of the Enemy on the opposite Shore, fired upon them, and obliged them to keep off. Next Day, the Prince and Earl of *Crawford* came up with the rest, and kept the Rebels in play, while a Body of Horse crossed at a Place called the *West Boat*, a little above the Town, and marched on with great swiftness Sabre in Hand; as they advanced, the Enemy fired some random Shot, which killed one Man, and wounded two or three, and then withdrew; for finding that no Barrier could protect them, they were put to Flight by the Prince on Foot, and by the Swedish Horse.

The Enemy, hemmed in on all Sides, were much obliged to the stormy Weather, which at that Time frag-ed, as it hindred the March of the Troops, who now longed to be at them. Any Person may figure to himself the State of the Countries where they prevailed; the Parties sent out, made free with whatever they judged belonging to those concerned in the Government, some Houses were turned into Stables, and the Property of their Owners eaten up by their Horses, in the best Rooms, and most fashionable Apartments; they even made Excursions to the *Orkney's*, and brought off for their Subsistance whatever they found; mean time nothing happened till the 16th of April, except a few incidents which I shall now relate.

1mo, Lord George Murray who had been obliged to retire from *Dunkeld* on Approach of the Hessians, sent for a Reinforcement to the Pretender; some *Camerons*, *Mac-Gregors* and *Mac-Donalds* of *Keppoch* crossed the

Forrest of Gaick, and Minnagegg, and joined the *Robertsons* and *Athol Men*, who were with him ; they encamped at *Daalspider*, a Place five Miles from any House, there watched their Opportunity, and upon the 17th at Night contrived to surprize the *Campbells* in their Beds : About 10 they set out in different Parties, the Country People gave the surest Intelligence, they arrived at the Places appointed, and seized upon 200 in their Beds. Few were prepared to defend themselves, from the short Alarm which they got, and before they could put themselves in a Posture to resist, were overpowered and killed. However some had Time to retreat, and lay on their Arms till next Morning, when Lord *George* appeared at a Distance. The Royalists however kept their Ground, and the Enemy not advancing upon them till Night, they moved off, and sent a Lieutenant to the Prince of *Hesse* and Earl of *Crawford*, to inform them of their Disaster, and the Hazard, the Remainder ran from the Circumstance of lying in a Country where the Houses are so few. Hereupon the Troops from *Perth* were call'd in, a great Body of *Hessians* and Dragoons marched toward *Blair*, then closely besieged. From the Time they set out from *Dunkeld* till their Arrival, they were constantly alarmed by Shots from behind Bushes and Thickets of Wood, tho' those in Ambush still run off as the Hussars and Dragoons advanced to attack them. Perhaps this was to alarm their main Body, then lying in wait at a Place clad with Shurbs, over against the Pass of *Killecrankie* ; by good Fortune the Royalists were apprised of the Plot, and instead of marching down that Path, which lies almost close by the *Tay*, tho' high above the opposite Side, the Foot fetched a Compais around the Height, while some Hussars with the Cannon in Front, safely rode toward the Pass where is a small Bridge built over a Rivulet which runs into the *Tay*, over which four Men could scarce walk a Breast ; the Enemy rightly judging the Foot were designed to cross the River above, and attack them in Flank, while the Cannon were to play upon their Front, directly fled toward *Blair* ; The Hussars came up to the Pass without Opposition, except from one Boy, who from a Precipice fired three times, and wounded two of them, the Stripling was wounded and made Prisoner but no revenge

was

was taken on his Person. Thus the Rebels retreated before the Royalists, giving over any further Attempts upon *Blair Castle*, which made a gallant Defence against them, tho' it must be owned that the Want of Cannon was the Chief Cause of their Repulse.

They now retired towards *Ruthven*, whence they dispatched *Lochziel*, now a Major-General among them, with the *Mac Donalds*, *Camerons*, and *French Piquets*, to besiege Fort *William* then prepared for an obstinate Defence. The Town was burnt, the principal Inhabitants repaired to the Garrison, which, for some Time, continued to annoy the Enemy; for, being informed that small Parties of the Rebels were posted on each Side the *Narrows of Carron*, in which they took a Boat belonging to the *Baltimore Sloop*, in her Passage from *Mull*, three Boats well manned were sent down, and arrived by Day-light; 27 Men from the *Serpent Sloop* landed first: They were immediately attacked by 80 Rebels, who retreated as the other Boats drew near; our People pursued them, burned the Ferry-Houses on both Sides the Water, and destroyed or brought off their Boats. In this Affair two Rebels were killed, and several wounded. To remedy this Disaster, the Piquets and *Camerons* advanced; by the 20th they began the Siege, by discharging 17 small Bombs of five Inches and a half Diameter, weighing about 16 or 18 Ponnds each, from the *Sugar-Loaf Hill*, about 800 Yard from the Fort; next Day they came nearer by 400 Yards, whence they discharged 84 of their Royals, and continued to approach till the 1st April, that they were within 100 Yards of the Place, during which Time both Parties fired very smartly at each other, without Success on the Side of the Besiegers, though otherwise on that of the Royalists. Three of the former were killed, and seven or eight wounded, among whom Colonel *Grant* their chief Ingineer; of the latter only two killed, one of whom fell by Accident, and two were wounded. The six Pieces of Cannon taken at *Preston* were recovered by the Royalists, and some Cohorns and Mortars, with other Arms, were left by them upon the 4th, when the Siege was raised; and their Spirits began to fall from the towering Height to which they had risen. The reducing of the *Campbells* was now deferred; the menacing Letter of *Keppoch* and *Lo-*

chief, dated from *Glenavis*, the 20th *March*, promising to hang a *Campbell* for every Beast these had taken from them, was no more thought off: The Execution of Vengeance upon them for Rebellion to the *Royal Family* since the Days of *James VI.* was delayed, either from their Disappointment, and the good Order the *Argyleshire* Highlanders were in, who intimated that they were prepared for them, or from the Command of the Pretender to repair to the Camp, in order to strengthen him against the Duke.

But not only did the Enemy make a Diversion in *Athole*, and *Inverlochy*, but likewise in *Strathbogie* and *Keith*. The Parties there, under *Roy Stewart* and Major *Glascoe*, abandoned their Posts on the Arrival of General *Bland*, who had marched, on the 14th, four Regiments of Foot, viz. General *Barrell's* the *Royals*, *Cholmondley's*, and *Price's*; *Cobham's Dragoon's*, *Kingston's Horse*, and some *Campbell's*. Notice of their Situation was brought to the Duke; before General *Bland* had an Account of it, Colonel *Conway*, the Aid-de-Camp, was sent to *Inverurie*, with Orders to the General to march forward and attack them. He forthwith obeyed; was within Half a Mile of *Strathbogie* before he was discerned. The Enemy then waiting Dinner, immediately fled off; only some *Hussars* drew up on the Green, and made a Show of standing upon the defensive. But this was only to favour the Retreat of the Foot. At *Westerton*, a Mile's Distance, they did the same, never breaking their Ranks till a Party of *Kingston's Horse* were observed to ford the *Devron* below them, and the *Campbell's* to advance behind them, and then they betook themselves to Flight. The Van pursued the Rear of the Enemy for two Miles; but as the Night was coming on, and the Evening wet and hazy, the Troops returned; yet the Marquis of *Granby*, Colonel *Constay*, and some Volunteers, advanced somewhat further, and fired a few Pistols at them, and then rode back, leaving the Rebels now in full Speed to the *Spey*. Some few Days after he sent a Captain of Highlanders and 30 of *Kingston's Men* to *Keith*, with a discretionary Power to act as they saw Occasion. They marched to the Hill above *Fochabers*, and then came back. The Rebels, who had certain Intelligence of their Motions, resolved to surprize them; about Ten o'Clock at Night,

Roy

Roy Stewart with his Regiment, and Major *Glascoe* with a few Picquets, set out, and arrived at *Keith* about One in the Morning. The Avenues to the Town were stopt ; the Major came up to the Centry, who asked, Who's there ? A Friend of the Duke of *Cumberland's*, replied he : But immediately the Man is disarmed, and a Pistol held to his Breast, threatening immediate Death if he cried out. Two or three others were likewise seized ; but one of them escaping alarmed the rest ; a Confusion ensued ; *Kingston's* Horsemen were all taken, except five, a Cornet and two Horses, who made their Escape thro' the *French* Centinels ; one of whom they killed, and wounded several.

The Houses of the Town were searched ; and so certain was *Roy Stewart's* Information, that the Name of each Lodger was mentioned by those sent to seek them. In the mean time, about 12 *Campbells*, in the Church-yard, fired upon the Streets ; the Rebels surrounded and obliged them to retire to the Church, where they fired with Success, till overpowered by Numbers who fired upon them thro' the Windows. Seven of them were killed, and five wounded, the rest, but one, being taken Prisoners in their Beds. The Loss of the Enemy was not certainly known, they having thrown the dead Carrasses upon Horses, and buried them in their Return. The Royalists, having met with this Disaster, strengthened their Posts ; those stationed at *Strathbogie* were reinforced with two Battalions, while three others, with four Peices of Cannon, were at *Oldmeldrum*, with Brig. *Mordaunt* at hand to support them ; the six remaining Battalions, and Lord *Mark Kers* Dragoons, continued at *Aberdeen*, where they were joined by Brigadier *Bligh's* Regiment.

About this Time, two Soldiers were taken by the Enemy, and brought to the Camp ; like others, they were much dealt with to enter into the Service ; and at last were prevailed with ; but embraced the first Opportunity to make their Escape. But falling again into the Hands of the Rebels, they were tried for Desertion, and condemned to be hanged. On the Day of Execution, -the Pretender withdrew ; *Mac-Lauchlan*, a Priest, then clad like a Soldier, with Mr. *Hay*, a Nonjuring Minister,

fter, attended them to the Gibbet. They took but little Notice of the Priest or the Curate, and read their Bibles as they went. When at the fatal Tree one of them sung a Psalm, which he raised himself, and gave out the Line so as to charm the Spectators. When this was over the Guard being grown weary, wanted him to make haste. But before he mounted the Ladder, *MacLauchlan* desired he would leave his advice, as a dying Man, to all who heard him, to be true to the *Prince*, and not to keep by the Service of the Usurper. The Criminal answered, " As a dying Man, I exhort all to be true to their Trust," intimating his Sorrow for having at all engaged with the young Chevalier. With that he was ordered to go up. " Yes says he, I will ; and as he was climbing up, he said, Every Step of this Ladder leads me a Step nearer Heaven. The other was not so cheerful to resign, but both testified their Hatred of the Service of their new and rigorous Masters.

The Rebels foreseeing they could make no farther Impression on the Quarters of the regular Troops, contrived to surprize the *Sutherland* Militia ; for this End, having got all the Boats from *Speymouth* to *Findorn* together, by Means of a thick Mist, they landed, upon the Morning of the 20th *March*, three Miles West from *Dornoch*, undiscerned. The Centries soon fell into their Hands ; about 60 Men taken Prisoners ; the Alarm was carried Westward to the Earl of *Loudon* ; who was with the Body of the Militia at a Pass. *Loudon*, foreseeing how unequal his Troops were to the *Macdonalds* under *Barisdale*, the *Mac Gregors*, and *Cromarty's* Corps, with some others draughted from the different Batallions of the Enemy, wisely withdrew to *Strathnaver*, where an Opportunity offered of giving a Blow to the Rebellion.

On the 24th *March*, the *Prince Charles Snow* was espied off *Peterhead* by the Sheerness Man of War, who immediately bore down upon her ; she made all the Sail possible thro' the *Pentland Firth*, and on the 25th appeared off the *Tongue Bay*. The Sheerness coming up with her, an Engagement of five Hours ensued ; 36 of her Hands were killed, and several wounded ; she frequently made a Signal of Distress ; but her Friends were not there ; at Night seeing she could not escape the Sheerness Man

(175)

of War, she run a-shore on the Shallows, landed her Men and Money, and staid a-shore till the Morning. Lord *Reay*, being informed of what past, conveened a Number of his Vassals, who, with about 80 of *Loudon's* Men, and six Officers, possessed themselves of the Eminent through which the Enemy were to pass; in their March they were attacked by the Royalists, who killed six upon the Spot, and wounded as many; the Dispute continued till a fresh Corps coming upon them, they surrendered with their Effects. Thus about 20 Officers and 120 Soldiers and Sailors, with 12500 Guineas fell into the Hands of the Government; the Prisoners were conducted on Board the *Sheerness*, whose Captain took Possession of the Prize; in which were found 14 Chests of Pistols and Sabres, with 13 Barrels of Powder, besides Ammunition and military Stores, and next Day set sail for *Stromness* in the *Orkneys*, where he relieved 12 Ships in that Harbour, seized upon a Privateer of 14 Guns, that had laid an Embargo upon them. Lord *Reay*, and his Freinds, apprehending *Cromarty* might now exercise his Menaces, viz. Fire and Sword, which he had threatned some Days before, embarked with the Treasure and Prisoners, and arrived at *Aberdeen* on the 6th, while Lord *Loudon* crossed over into *Sky* with a considerable Body, and there kept a Correspondence with the Militia of *Argyll-Shire*, and with the regular Troops, now preparing for the grand Decision.

The Duke understanding, from *Reay*, the Hardships put upon the Northern Counties, and from the Prisoners, that several Embarkations were preparing at *Dunkirk* whence some Ships had landed a few Battalions, and 120 of *Fitz James's* Horse, tho' the rest of these, with their Colonel, were taken on the 24th *February*, by Commodore *Knowles*, in the *Bourbon* and *Charite* Privateers, he prepared to set out, having already scoured the Countries of *Clova* and *Grenesk*, and some other Places. Every Thing being in Readines, he marched on the 8th, and by the Way of *Oldmeldrum* and *Bamff* arrived at *Cullen* upon the 11th. Here a Party of the Rebel Hussars endeavoured to surprize an Out-guard; but as these appeared alert for them, they ran off with Precipitation. Here Lord

Lord Albermarle joined with his Battalions. Next Morning his Royal Highness, and General Husk, marched to the Spey with 15 Companies of Grenadiers, the Highlanders and all the Horse, with two Pieces of Cannon. A small Party of the Enemy lying in Fochabers, on seeing the Duke of Kingston's Horse, crossed the River, carrying such Consternation with them, that those on the other Side made all possible Haste to Elgin; only one Captain Huntar, and a few waited till Kingston's Horse were entering the Water; when he fired one of his Pistols upon them without doing Hurt, and with the other happening to shoot his own Horse thro' the Neck, he immediately jumped off his Back, got behind his Comrade, and galloped off full speed. Being come to the River, the Duke who shewed him the very Ford, where King Malcolm Canmore, anno 1057, and after him King Alexander, surnamed the Fierce, anno 1107, crossed over in Sight of the Ancestors of these very Rebels his Royal Highness was now pursuing, to suppress the dangerous Insurrections they had raised against their Governments. He was the first to enter the Water, at the Head of the Horse, who forded it, while the Highlanders and Grenadiers passed a little higher; The Foot waded over as fast as they arrived; and tho' the Water came up to their Midles, they went on with great Clearfulness. In short, they all got over, with no other Loss but that of one Dragoon and four Women, who were carried down by the Stream. Thus was one of the strongest passes in Scotland given up, a Pass where 2000 might very easily have kept back an Army of 20000 Men: A sure Prelude of their Destruction; and a Proof of the Duke's Reputation, who made the Enemy fly as it were, at the Sound of his Name.

The Troops were cantoned that Night upon the Bank of the Spey, and next Day continued the Pursuit. When they came to Elgin, a Party of the Rebel Horse were at the West, as they were at the East End of the Town: they did not enter it, but marched, by the Back of it, to the other Side of a small Rivulet, about a Mile from the Place. Here the Army halted upon the open Field, and dined; the Duke's Table was no other than that of a Drum-Head, in the Face.

of

of the Sun. Here he sent for a young Man, who, he was told, had sworn he would shot him ; when the Lad was brought before him, he said, with a charming Air, " Did you swear you would kill the Duke of *Cumberland*? now here he is." The youth was almost Speechless ; but at last uttered such Words as expressed a Denial of the Charge. Then go, says the Duke, and be good for the Future. This I judged proper to insert, to show that he made it his Business to be acquainted with the minutest Things ; for, during the March, he would fall behind the Lines, talk familiarly with the Country People, and not discover himself till parting by the rich Presents that he gave. On the 14th, he marched for *Nairn*, where some Rebel Officers, such as *Nairn* and others, were feasting ; but on his approach they retired. Next Day, being the Anniversary of his Birth-day they rested. The Duke of *Cumberland's* Army were the only People in *Britain* (except where the Pretender prevailed) not to solemnize it, and that by a particular Order from himself ; the Towns of *England* and *Scotland* kept it as it were a Jubilee, and at Night the Illuminations were universal ; in some Places, such as *Leith*, the Chevalier was hanged in Effigy ; which, with a Skirmish that happened near *Golspie* in *Sutherland*, was an Omen of the stuning Blow which next Day he received. And tho' the Royalists have differed more, in the Relation of that Onset, from one another, than the Accounts of the former Battles, published by the King's Troops, have from those of the Rebels, yet I must venture upon a Description of it ; since a Matter of that Kind is not to be passed over in an History of the Times.

The Earl of *Cromarty*, being at *Dunrobin* with 400 Men, was inclined to come up to the Camp of the Chevalier, a Party of the *Sutherland* Militia contrived to surprize them : They kept a Correspondence with those in the Castle, who set up a Sign at the Time they were to march : A Party of 26 Men, under Ensign *John MacKay*, were placed nigh a Rivulet where they were to pass, while about 120 stood behind a Hill, at a Distance. *Cromarty's* Corps marched before his Lordship, who apprending no Danger, staid behind, till a Toft, which was proposed, should go round. They were a Mile past the Brook, when his Lordship, some Officers

and Servants came up. When at the Burn, those in Ambush fired upon them, and startled their Horses ; on which they returned to *Dunrobin*, and shut themselves up ; in the mean time the 120 came on ; Mr. *Sutherland* of *Sibercross* ordered them to march in such a Manner as to look more numerous than they were ; his Advice was followed. The Rebels, amazed at the Report of the Firing behind, and at the Sight of a Corps coming near, whom they judged to be 7 or 800 Men, looked at each other, not having Officers to give them Command, and the People in the Villages coming out, whom they took for another Army, a Consternation ensued, which was improved ; 20 Men run before the rest and harrassed their Rear, and drove them into the Ferry, where Numbers were drowned, about 50 killed, and 170 taken Prisoners ; none escaping, but some few who laid hold of some Boats, in which they crossed to the other Side. In the mean time Mr. *MacKay* pursued *Cromarty* and the other Officers to *Dunrobin*, and asked Leave to speak with him ; which being granted, he told him plainly, that if he did not surrender the House, the Numbers that were without woudl blow it up, and run all Hazards of their Masters Displeasure. On which Lord *Cromarty* asked Half an Hour to think of it. In the mean Time, Mr. *MacKay* went down Stairs and told the Guard that was in the House, it was needless to keep their Arms any longer, as their Officer had surrendered. They delivered them to him ; then having got the Key of the Gate, he called in the Militia, went up Stairs and told *Cromarty* that there was no Time to delay ; so disarmed and took him Prisoner. A Courier was directly sent off to the Hound Man of War, which sailed for *Dunrobin*, took in *Cromarty* and his Son, one Lieutenant Colonel *Kendall* in the *Spanish* Service, with Nine other Officers, while *Barisdale* continued his March by the Pass of the *Bonar* ; but was too late to be up with the Pretender, who now prepared for a Stand.

From the Flight of his Men, having Intelligence of the Approach of the Troops, he called in his Parties, drew them up on the Street of *Inverness*, on the 14th. Never were Men in more top Spirits than they : " We have seen *Cumberland* before, we will give him another *Fountenoy*, was the Phrase of the Day." They marched out that Night, and encamped

encamped in the Parks ; while the Chevalier, with his Officers put up in the Houses of *Culloden* and *Castlehill*; next Day they marched to the Field of Battle, where they planted their Batteries and stood in a Posture to engage ; thus they continued till about Nine at Night, when, in a Council of War, they resolved to proceed, and attack the Troops then drowned in Sleep the Effect of that Days Rejoicing. About Ten they set out, and through By-roads, least the People of the Villages should give the Alarm, arrived about one in the Morning within two Miles of the Royalists, whose Picquets were ready to receive them ; here they turned towards the North-West, in order to surround the Army, whom we may call the Diameter of that Circle they were to form. Nothing now stopt them but a Morass and a Lake, betwixt which they marched as through a Defile. About Two they were so near the Centries, as to hear them calling out to their Comerads, a little surprised at hearing the Nigh of a Horse, which was the only Noise in the Rebel Army, " All is well," had they come on, 'tis not doubted but that they might have much incommoded the Soldiers in the Dark ; had these been closely attacked, they had no Place to retreat to, but cross the Water, which might have taken some Time. They instantly held a Council of War, where a Dispute arose, Wether or not to proceed ? and continued some Time ; but the Argument, that their Troops were not all up, as some had halted by the Way, that the Ground was Disadvantageous, and that their Scouts had given an Account of the Disposition and Readiness of the Royalists to receive them, prevailed upon the Officers to retire with their Forces. As they marched back, a Damp was visible among them ; those who were courageous before, and framed to themselves the Prospect of a Battle with *Cope*, began to dread they had to do with the Duke of *Cumberland*. The Pretender appeared very frettish, and alledging that some of his Orders were slighted, was heard say, G — d d — n it, are my Commands still disobeyed. Yea he went so far as to declare " he knew they would lose ; we had not a General to deal with hitherto ; but I know this Man." They proceeded towards *Inverness* thro' the patent Road ; upon which an Out-party of them were met by some of *Kingston's* Horse,

who

who fired upon them, and afterwards repaired to the Camp to inform the Royalists of the Danger they were lately in. The Rebels came up to their former Ground, about Eight, and rested upon their Arms, to relieve them from their Fatigue.

The vigilant Duke of Cumberland, the Night before, had walked to the Camp, called the Officers together, and told them, that, in all Probability, they were to meet with the Enemy; assured them of his Esteem, and desired that they would encourage the private Men. These, animated by the Confidence he put in them, roused the Soldiers, and mutually excited one another to fight for the Cause of their Country. About four in the Morning the Drums beat to Arms; the Troops set out in four Columns, and followed the Rout of the Enemy. The three Lines of Foot each of five Battalions, were broken into three from the Right, the Artillery followed the first, and the Cavalry made the fourth upon the Left. And tho' a Storm of Hail drove full in their Faces, still they advance; about eight Miles from *Nairn*, forty of *Kingston's Horse* and the Highlanders, led by the Quarter-master General, perceived the Enemy, at two Miles Distance, making a Motion to the Left of the Army, who instantly turned their Faces from the West a little to the South, in order to receive them. Thus they continued some Minutes, till observidg that the whole Forces did not come forward, but that these whom they espied retired to their main Body, they put themselves in their former Posture, which they kept till within a Mile of the Enemy, where again they formed as before. And now the Hour is appearing, when Heaven designed to show her Care for the lower World.

On the 16th of April 1746, between the Hours of One and Two Afternoon, was fought the decisive Battle of *Culloden*, between two Warriors, the most enterprising Youths of their Age, *William Augustus*, Duke of Cumberland, and *Charles*, the eldest Son of the Pretender; the one famous for his extraordinary Virtues, the other for his extraordinary Attempts, the one liberal thro' a Greatness of Soul, the other never but for some private End. The British Hero had all the Qualifications of a consummate General, unbounded Courage joined with Compassion, tempering each other in his Mind: The

Italian

Italian Adventurer was well acquainted with the Arts of War ; but these he never put in Practice to the Hazard of his Person ; and the Mercy which he shewed seemed rather the Effect of Policy, while courting a Throne, than owing to his natural Disposition, as appeared by the Tenor of his Actions. The former had the Title of Intrepid to a Proverb, which he supported in fighting against the Competitor for his Father's Crown : But the latter, tho' engaged for himself, suffered the Love of Life to take Place of Intrepidity. The *British* Hero was bred in the Court of *London*, breathed Liberty from his Infancy and seemed to be born for the Defence of it : The *Italian* Stranger was trained up at *Rome*, in all the Arts of Dissimulation, for which he was naturally framed ; a Coffin or a Crown is what *Charles* declared for ; the former, he might have had with Honour ; the latter, never while *William* was alive.

Both Armies were now ranged in Order of Battle ; the Royalists, about 8500, extending from Right to Left, were drawn up in two Lines ; the first was composed of the Regiments of *Pultney*, the Royal Scots, *Cholmondeley*, *Price*, Royal North British Fuzileers, *Monro*, and *Barrel* ; the second Line was made up of *Baterau's*, *Blackney's*, *Howard's*, alias the *Buff's*, *Fleming's*, *Bligh's*, *Semple's*, *Ligoneer's*, and *Wolf's* ; there was a Corps of Reserve, from whence his Royal Highness ordered *Pultney's* to the Right of the *Royal*, the better to cover the Enemy, who before much out-lined his Troops. there was a Morass on the Right, which covered them from a Surprize on that Side ; and the Dragoons, under Generals *Hawley* and *Bland*, were ordered to the Left, in order to fall upon the Right Flank of the Enemy ; the Highlanders, except 150, were, with the Dragoons, left to guard the Baggage behind the whole. The Rebel Army, of 9000, stood formed thus ; the first Line was composed of the Hussars and Guards, the Battalions of *Keppach*, *Glengary*, and *Clanranald*, under *Perth* ; the *MacLauchlans*, *MacLeans*, *MacFarquhars*, *Frazers*, *Chiſholms*, and *MacIntoshs*, under Lord *John Drummond* ; the *Steuarts* of *Appin*, the *Camerons*, and *Robertsons*, under Lord *George Murray*. Their second Line was made up of the *Irish* Brigades and 70 of *Fitz James Horse*, Lord *Lewis Gordon's* Regiment, with those of *Perth*, *Roy Steuart*, *Glenbucket*,

et, Kilmarnock, Lord John Drummond, and Lord Ogilvie ; the Pretender stood with a Body of Horse behind the whole, opposite to the Center, but at a vast Distance from it. And here it is observable, that their Lines were very far from one another ; the Second from the First about Half a Mile, and the Reserve from the Second, about three Quarters : Whereas those of the King's Troops were not above 50 Yards from each other. The Cannon, of the Enemy, was placed in three Divisions, consisting each of three Pieces : That of the Duke, *viz.* Ten, was planted in five Divisions, Two being in each. Things being in this Condition, his Royal Highness ordered them to advance : for, saith he, " I wont dine till my Work be done." By this insinuating, that taking that Diet at Falkirk, and not proceeding directly, was the Occasion of their Disaster there. He rode along the Lines, and being come to the Center, addressed himself in the following Terms to the Soldiers, " Gentlemen and Fellow-soldiers, " We are now in View of the Enemy, whom we long wished to see. Here presents the End of our Toils ! Our Cause is the best, since we are to fight for our King, our Country, our Religion, Liberties and Laws ! The Consequence of a Victory will be Peace and every Thing glorious to you as Soldiers, valuable to your Countrymen, as Britons and Protestants, and delightful to your King, as the Father of us all. I, Gentlemen, have been an Eye Witness of the British Bravery in general, and of yours in particular, and have no Doubt of your confirming the good Opinion, which my Royal Father, I, and your Country, have formed of you. Be not affrighted at their sudden Shock with Broad-sword and Target ; parey them a little, and in a Moment you shall have Assistance. There is no Place of Retreat, you see the Badness of the Roads thro' which you came ; do or die, ought to be our Resolution ; Mercy you cannot expect from the Enemies of their Country, (at uttering these Words, he produced a Pocket-book, which had been taken the Night before, from some of their Stragglers, in which were contained the most awful Threatenings,) but if any are afraid to engage, and think to raise the Compassion of the Rebels by leaving the Army directly, let these speak freely, and with Pleasure they shall

" shall have my Discharge." These Words were uttered with so much Earnestness, and in so lively a Manner, that one would have thought he had already conquered. The whole Soldiers gave repeated Declarations of their standing by him, and so they came on. As the Ground thro' which they were to march was a little marshy, he ordered some of the Baggage Horses to assist in drawing the Artillery, and asked if there was any Person, in the Regiments, acquainted with the Place. One directly came out, and with some country People, directed them thro' it. A Wheel of the Carriage, in which one of the Pieces was placed, broke, which raised a Stir, that was soon abated, as the same was instantly made right. The Army was now within 500 Yards of the Enemy, when the Morass ended, which covered their Right; to remedy which, the indefatigable Duke of Cumberland ordered *Kingston's Horse*, and 60 of *Cobham's Dragoons*, which had been patrolling, to cover their Flank. The Day was rainy, and the Wind began to arise from the North, to have which in their Backs was now the Dispute; near Half an Hour was spent in the Trial; when the Enemy found, that by Means of an Inclosure upon their Right, which went within a short Space of the Water of *Nairn*, that was not to be got; and therefore gave over the Attempt. Lord *Bury* was sent forward, with some few Troops, within 100 Yards of them, to reconnoitre what appeared somewhat like a Battery. That Nobleman went on; their Cannon began to play; but being ill served, and ill pointed, the Balls flew mostly over the Heads of the Troops, and only killed a few. The Artillery of the Royalists answered theirs with great Execution. A mighty Confusion ensued; the second Line gave way in a Moment, only some of the more daring run into the First, whose Left came furiously down upon the Right of the Army, where his Royal Highness had placed himself, three Times, within 100 Yards of the *Royal*s and *Pultney's*, who hardly took their Firelocks from their Shoulders; they brandished their polished Swords and fired their Pistols; but three Times they were kept in Awe. Those upon the Right were a little bolder; for, in a stooping Posture, with their Targets in their Left, covering their Head and Breast, and their glittering Swords in their Right-Hand, they ran swiftly upon the Cannon,

Cannon, making a dreadful Huzza, and even crying " Run ye Dogs." They broke in between the Grenadeers of General *Barrel* and of *Monro*, who had given them their Fire, according to Orders, viz. the 2d and 3d Rank, as they were within 30 Yards, and the 1st, just as they were at the Muzzles of their Guns. The two Cannon, on that Division was so well served, that, when within two Yards of them, they received a full Discharge of Cartridge Shot, which made a dreadful Havock, while those who crowded into the Opening, received a full Fire from the Center of *Bligh's*. However those who survived possess themselves of the Cannon, and attacked the Regiments Sword in Hand; but to their Astonishment they found an obstinate Resistance; for the Soldiers were now taught to push over the right Arm against the right Breast of his Antagonist; yea, some mutually defended each other by pushing against that Man who was engaged with his Right Hand Comerad. Some Battalions of the Left judging these Regiments were broke, run up to the Breach; but in their Way they received a most terrible Fire, both from the Cannon and small Arms of the Right of the Army; so they directly run off, and were pursued by some Horse, who made a dreadful Slaughter; while *Wolf's* and *Fleming's*, which wheeled to the Left of *Barrel's*, with *Bligh's* and *Semple's*, brought up by General *Husk* made such a continued Fire upon their Flank and Front, as either killed or wounded the most of that Wing which had broke in. In the mean time Generals *Halley* and *Bland*, with the Dragoons and the *Campbells*, placed formerly with them, began to break down a Dyke upon the Right of the Enemy, who were now flying off in the greatest Confusion; and as at their coming on they got a Salvo from two Cannon, they had a like Salutation at their going off, from other two that were brought to bear upon them. Lord *John Drummond*, observing the dreadful Confusion, brought up his Division to secure the Retreat, he fired upon the *Campbells* and Dragoons, and put the Soldiers in some Concern; they wheeled about to surround them; which being observed by the Brigades, they beat a Retreat and went off; the Pretender in the Rear, observing the Flight of his Men, did all he could to rally them, " Pray Gentlemen re-
" turn." His Directions were vain; scarce any that came by

by him but were wounded. The Rout was total ; The Dragoons were ordered to pursue. General *Bland*, and Lord *Ancram* made great Slaughter among the Enemy, now flying like a Flock of Sheep before them, and took several Prisoners of Note. The Clans crossed the Water of *Nairn*, and got up the Way of the Hills, whether it was impracticable to pursue them ; such as took that Rout were the only People that escaped. The Field was now clear ; the Victory was compleat ; and the Soldiers, warm in their Resentment, did Things hardly to be accounted for ; several of the wounded Men were stabbed, yea, some who were lurking in Houses, were taken out and shot upon the Field, tho' some were saved, by those whose Compassion was raised at the Sight of many Victims. This Conduct was variously constructed ; the Royalists gave out, that an Order was found in the Pockets of one of the slain, "to give no Quarter to the Elector's Troops on any Account whatsoever." The Dissaffected utterly denied the Charge ; and *Arthur Lord Balmerino* was at Pains to disprove the same on the Day of his Execution ; his Intention seems to have been, not only to vindicate his *Prince*, but even to throw an Odium upon the King's Troops and their illustrious Leader ; for my Part, I acknowledge it's hard to judge in the Case ; the Conduct of the Soldiers is not to be defended according to the strict Rules of War ; but yet I presume to say this for them, *imo*, The Manifesto of the Pretender was, in a Manner the same, with the Order supposed to be given ; has he not said, " From the Benefit of which Particular, we except none, but such as shall wilfully and maliciously oppose us. — And we particularly promise, as aforesaid, our full, free and general Pardon, to all Officers, Soldiers and Sailors, now engaged in the Service of the Usurper, whether of the Sea or Land, provided that upon the Publication hereof, and before they engage in any Fight or Battle against our Forces, they quit the said unjust and unwarrantable Service, and return to their Duty." What is the Alternate of this Promise, but that they were to expect no Mercy, if they slighted his Terms ? Besides, it is certain, that not only the actual Rebels, but their Abettors, frequently declared that they would not give such kind Treatment to the Soldiers as formerly they had done ; such is my

Opinion of the Weakness of human Nature, that I shall not say what I would have acted, had I been a Soldier there, and my Acquaintances will not load me with the Title of unmerciful; yet one Thing I own, that the Rebels had enrag'd the Troops; their Habit was strange, their Language still stranger, and their Way of Fighting was shocking to the utmost Degree, the Rebellion was unprovoked, the Forces were greatly fatigued, the Fields of *Preston* and *Falkirk* were fresh in their Memory, they had lost a pious *Gairdner*, a Martial *Whitney*, and an undaunted *Monro*; besides other Officers who with the private Men that dy'd the bloody Plains, were not killed, as in a Battle, but slaughtered as by an Apprentice Butcher; twelve or fourteen Wounds, a Hand or an Arm lop'd off, were Sights too frequently to be observed by Numbers. And here before them is the lively Picture of such dismal Scenes; Capt. Lord *Robert Ker* of *Barrels* Regiment, was covered with Wounds; His Head was cut, by a Lieut. of *Keppoch's* Regiment, from the Crown to the Collar Bone, yea, he was in a Manner hashed in Pieces; he was a fine Youth, of noble Birth, being Son to the Marquis of *Lothian*, and his Education was ample, being trained up by Mr. *MacLaurin*, that Darling and Dignifier of human Nature; Captain *Colin Campbell* younger of *Ballimore*, of Lord *Loudon's* Regiment, was likewise sacrificed for his Country; he was a most agreeable Gentleman, of great Courage and Compassion, and extremely well beloved by all who knew him; he was the Son of a pious and worthy Father, and Heir Apparent to Sir *Duncan Campbell* of *Lochnell*, his Uncle; Captain *Campbell* of *Achnaba* of the Militia, and Captain *Groset* of *Price's* Regiment, likewise lay murdered before them: Besides, such as were wounded had several Strokes. And now when Victory appears, if they abused the strict Rules of Justice, which even does not allow the killing of Rebels before a Trial, it was but in their Passion, when they dispatched some Ghosts to appease the Deaths of their Comerads, and of those brave Gentlemen, who might be called Fathers of the Soldiers.

Our Deliverer, in the mean time, is entering *Inverness*, where the Bells were ringing for the Victory; the People gave the Signal to huzza; but he moved his Hand for them to give over; he instantly called for the Keys of the Tolbooth;

booth ; Freedom was the first Fruit of his Conquest, the Soldiers were set at Liberty ; as they came down Stairs, he smoothed them upon the Shoulder, and said, " Brother Soldiers you are free," ordered an Entertainment for them, and Payment of all their Arrears. About Four o'Clock the Army, after taking a Glass of Spirits upon the Field, each Man by the Order of their Leader, advanced huzzazing ; yet when they came to *Inverness*, they seemed much concerned, perhaps at the Case of the miserable People, whose Carcasses were strewed before them. In this Battle were killed on the Side of the Royalists 120, beside the Officers formerly named, and 260 wounded, among whom Lieutenant Colonel Rich, whose Right Hand was cut off by the wrist, and Left almost cut through, above the Fingers ; he had likewise a deep Wound near the Elbow ; Capt. Romer, Lieut. Edmonds, Ensigns Campbell and Brown, all of Barrell's Regiment ; Capt. Simpson of Price's, Lieut. Trapaud of Bligh's, Capt. Kineer, Lieuts. King and Lort, Ensigns Dally and Mundach, of Monro's ; Capt. Spark of Ligoneir's, Capt. Carter of Batterau's. The Horse did not suffer much, having only received some Platoons from the Irish Brigades, and a few random Shot from the more obstinate, who sometimes turned about during the Flight ; Kingston's Horse had but two killed and one wounded, some Regiments, such as Howard's, Cholmondley's, and Batterau's, had but two or three, and Pultney's none ; for the Fury only fell upon Barrell's and Monro's. Bligh's sustained some little Loss by Firing of Pistols, and from some furious Desperadoes (none of whom returned) who run in among them. Sample's, who relieved Barrell's, had a little Damage also. On the Side of the Rebels were killed about 500 on the Spot, and as many in the Pursuit ; among whom Colonel MacLàuchlan, and Major MacLauchlan, of Inchconnell, with most of the Officers of his Regiment ; Col. MacGillivra and Major MacBean of the Regiment of MacIntoshs, with almost all their other Officers, and most Part of their private Men ; Col. MacLean, of Drimnin, tho' a Man of no great Judgment, yet of great Courage and Affection towards his Children, an Instance of which he gave that Day ; for seeing two of his Sons dangerously wounded, and hearing that another of them was killed, he stopt his Flight, said, It should not be for Nought, and

and rushed upon two Dragoons, even after his Wig and Bonnet flew off, shot one, and wounded the other; when thre more came up, chusing not to survive his Sons, he continue his Obsturacy, and was almost cut in Pieces. His Major and many of his Officers were likewise killed. Among the wounded were, Col. *MacDonald of Keppoch*, in the Breast and Arm, who was carried to his House but soon afterwards died; General *Cameron of Lochiel* in both the Ancles, and most of their Officers, with others, too tedious here to mention; Brigadier *Stapleton* died of his Wounds in a few Days after, and left his Advice to the Pretender, not to trouble himself any further with Plots upon the British Throne; for says he, The Dispositions, made by the Duke of *Cumberland*, were so fine, that the Highlanders would have been defeated at any Event. *Perth*, Lords *Ogilvie* and *Pitflego*, Lords *John* and *Lewis Drummonds*, with Lord *Lewis Gordon*, had gone for *Ruthven*, where they gave Orders for their Corps to shift for themselves. Several Officers were taken Prisoners, such as Lord *Kilmarnock*, who, taking a Party of Dragoons for *Fitz James's Horse*, separated from the few who were with him, and came up to them. Lord *Ancram* knew him, and saved his Life; Sir *John Wedderburn*, Col. *Farquharson*, Major *Stewart* of *Perth's Regiment*, five Captains, three Ensigns, and six Officers such as Surgeons and Engineers, with about 900 private Men, shared the same Fate. All their Artillery, Tents, Cantines, 12 Cours, a vast Number of Arms, Ammunition and Military Stores. In short their whole Baggage fell into the Hands of the Conqueror. The Pretender himself lost his Wigg and Bonnet as he was riding off. He repaired with some few of his Horse to the House of Mr. *Frazer of Gortlich*, 14 Miles from *Inverness*, where Lord *Lovat*, who lodged there, was mourning the News of his Defeat, which had reached his Ears before their Arrival. "Chop off my Head," says old *Simon* to the Chevalier, "We are surely undone. No, answered he, My "Lord, We have had two Days of them, and will yet have "Day about with them." He was very uneasy that Night, and next Day went off to *Glengary*, (after desiring his Guard to shift for themselves,) resided there for some Time, and heard daily of the Surrender of his Troops, and the Hardships that beset his desperate and deluded Followers.

Such

Such was the Battle of *Culloden*, of which I never saw any Account from the Rebels ; nor indeed could one be expected, considering the Rebellion was dashed in Pieces : The Flame of it was not only extinguished, but the very Embers of it quenched. Yet, as I have heard some Excuses for their Overthrow, I shall consider them. 1^{mo}, Their Men were not all there. 2^{do}; They were fatigued the Night before. And 3^{tio}, wanted Sustenance. The 1st will be allowed ; for the *MacPhersons*, and several of *Glanbucket's* Men, in all 500, were not there ; *Glengyle*, with 120 *MacGregors*, was in *Sutherland*, as was *Lord Cromarty* with 280 of his Men ; *Barisdale's* Regiment of 400 was likewise absent ; Mr. *Cameron* of *Dungallion*, *Locheill's* Lieutenant Colonel, and the Master of *Lovat*, with some of their Attendants, were not in the Field ; yea, 500 French Picquets were at or near *Inverness*, in the Time of the Battle. All which put together will make about 17 or 1800 Men. But then let us consider how these were made up ; about 300 of the *Chisholms* of *Strathglass*, 140 *MacLeans*, several of the Name of *Dallas*, of the Branches of the *Catt*, such as *MacGillivray's*, *MacFarquhars*, and others of the Clans that had not before joined, tended to make up ; while the Guards left at *Perth*, and along the *Angus Coast*, for Defence of their Magazines, during the Battle of Jan. 17th, with some Forces that had landed from *Ostend*, more than compensated what was wanting. But must we pass over in Silence that the Royal Army was less numerous at *Culloden* than at *Falkirk* ; Were there as many Dragoons at the former as at the latter Place ? *Cobham's* were not recruited ; And will any Person say that *Lord Mark Ker's* Dragoons and *Kingston's* Horse were equal in Number to two Regiments, viz. *Hamilton's* and *Gardners* (now *Naizon's*) then almost compleat ? Is the Loss at *Keith* nothing ? Is the Surprize of the *Campbells* at *Blairfielty*, *Rannach*, and *Cushiville*, not to be regarded ? Are the Detachments left at *Blair*, *Castle-Menzies*, and *Aberdeen* not to be considered ? Are the *MacKays*, a very martial People so to be overlooked ? Is there nothing in keeping *Lord Loudon* with the Militia from joining the Royal Army ? And if their Account of *Falkirk* Battle be true, viz. That they lost but 40, and the Royalists 1300, including Prisoners ; then it's impossible to balance the Troops on both Sides, without making the

the Rebels stronger, and the Royalists not so numerous, as on that boisterous Day. As to the fatigue the Night before, it was owing to themselves ; and, What General will not take an Advantage if he can ? But were not the Forces next Day in the same Condition ? The Night of the 15th was calm, but the Morning of the 16th was stormy, and the Soldiers much incommoded by saving their Arms, under their Cloaths, from the Hail, which showered down upon them. 3d, As to Sub-sistance, I only say, that this was their Misfortune ; and is it not a *Finesse*, in the Art of War, for a Commander to improve upon the Straits of his Enemies. But, Why so much detract from the Glory of the British *Cyrus* ? Consult M. *Folliard* and other French Historians, they will tell, that the Marshal *Villars*'s cutting off the Provisions of the German Army, before the Battle of *Denain*, Anno 1711, is an Instance of Military Skill, that will render his Memory immortal. But what would these have said, had he pursued without knowing their Want of Vivres, had he attacked them refreshed from their Toil upon Ground of their own Chusing, with Troops spent with their Journey and harrassed by a Storm ? How would they have extolled this as an Heroick Action, not to be erased by the Length or Violence of Time ? Fly hence ye Croud of French Flatterers, own the Bravery of *William* far above the Cunning of *Villars* ! Fly hence ye Roman Dissemblers, set the young *Italian* no more on desperate Exploits ! Fly hence you tricky, Sycophantish *Sheridan*, publish no more Addresses to the Army and People ; be ashamed of your Performance ; be confounded at your impudent Assertion, viz. That the present Royal Family of Great Britain were the very Ridicule of those over whom they governed ; know that a Duke of *Brunswick* was Emperour of *Germany* ; fly to the Plains of *Prague*, *Mein*, and many other Places ; consult the German Annals, and you will find that the House of *Lünenburgh* stood in Fields of Blood, for the Protestant Religion ; ask *Voltaire*, and he will tell you, (*Hist. Charles XII. of Sweden, Book VII.*) that the late King *George* was adored by his Subjects, that he was one of the wisest Kings in *Europe* ; that he hated the Pride of Majesty, (a divine Qualification indeed) and could on a Throne taste the Pleasures of Friendship, and of a single Life ; read his Preface to his *Alzira*, and ponderate his

his Encomiums upon Queen *Caroline*, that loveliest of Princesses ; ask the *British* Parliament, and the whole Nation, for they will inform you of the greatest Prudence imaginable in our King, *viz.* that he rules according to Law ! The Prince and his amiable Consort, with the Princesses, are beloved and reverenced by all who see them ; *William*, our Deliverer, is polished in the Court, and hardened in the Field of Danger ; renowned for Conquest, and skilled in Council ; *Britain* adores him, *Holland* regales him ; his Enemies tremble at his Name : The Emperour and Empress of *Germany* have entrusted him with their Armies ; while *Europe* admires him as the Darling and Delight of his Age. Fly hence ye deluded Rebels, own as Christians your Infatuation, and be humbled for your Offence : No more trust in your Swords and Targets, or to your own Strength added to the *Italian* Skill ; consider that Showers of Bullets and Storms of Fire are not to be resisted by the Force of Steel ; be sensible what Bravery guided by Conduct is able to do ; and that the Almighty can turn Plots upon the Heads of those that frame them ; blush not to attribute the Glory of *Culloden* Field to *William*, *Britain's* and your own Deliverer. Let the Obstinate look into the Ocean, while it is calm, sooner may they be able to raise Tempests there, than to disturb the universal Joy that Reigns in every *British* Breast, after the grand Decision. May the Temples of that Youth be crowned with Olive and every Laurel, who was the Soul of the Cause, and took the Affair upon himself : And may Millions unborn be ready, upon every Occasion, to express themselves, conscious of their Blessing, when they read of the glorious Event.

The 16th April was the Beginning of a Jubilee, only interrupted by the Misery of those who had forfeited their Lives to publick Justice. Fame, like an Eagle, carried the News of the Defeat upon her Wings. The Night of the Battle, Lord *Bury* was dispatched with a Letter to the King ; he took the Opportunity of a Ship to *North-Berwick*, where he landed up on the 21st ; took Post-horses to *London*, where he arrived upon the Morning of the 24th, and delivered his Message. His Majesty, having heard Twelve Hours before his Arrival, of the Action in general, asked him, " What's become of my SON ? He is very well, answered Lord *Bury*. Then
" all

" all is well to me, replyed the Royal Parent," and unable to speak for Joy, he withdrew for a little, and ordered *Bury* 1000 Guineas in *Specie*. The Joy upon publishing the News was as universal as the Illuminations (the most splendid ever seen) were general and delightful, forming but one continued *Blaze*; for from *Britain* to the utmost Bounds of *America* was nothing but Gladness for the great Deliverance; a Run of *Addressess*, like the Waves of the Sea jostling out one another, crowded upon the King, congratulating him both upon the *Defeat* of his *Enemies*, and the heroick Part his Son, the *Image* of his *Virtues*, had in the suppressing that Project, upon the *Ruin* of which their *Constitution* was more firmly secured. The *Parliament*, in Testimony of their Satisfaction, conferred upon him the yearly Sum of 25,000 l. in Augmentation of what he formerly enjoyed; and wrote him a congratulatory Letter upon his glorious *Succes*; to which they received an Answer from his own Hand, that discovered as much Sweetness in Time of Peace, as he had shewn of Fire, at *Culloden* Field, in the Hour of Action.

The City of *Edinburgh* was not behind in testifying her Joy, which was the more heightned, in Proportion to the Sadness, which rang the Night before, on publishing the false Accounts of the Royalists being defeated, and their Leader taken Prisoner; for, as at *Leipsick*, Arno 1631, upon the *Saxons* giving Way, a Courier carried the News of the *Defeat* of *Gustavus*, the Defender of the Protestant Interest in his Day, so at *Culloden*, the Rebels breaking in upon two Regiments on the Left, a Cosier went off with an Account of the Overthrow of the Protector of the Reformation, in ours. Balls and Dances were held by the disaffected Ladies, whose Mirth was interrupted, about One in the *Sunday* Morning, by a Round from the great Guns of the Castle, answered by Discharges from the Men of War in the Road. Next *Thursday* was observed, with the utmost Gaiety, as a Day of Rejoicing for the Victory obtained; the most ingenious Devices, capable of striking the nicest Taste, were contrived. In some Windows were painted W. D. C. Deliverer of *Great Britain*; in others, *Victory* trampling Rebellion under Foot, and *Justice* plunging her naked Sword in its Bowels; Satisfaction appeared in the Populace, who set on Bonfires, brought forth Liquor,

Liquor, and celebrated the *A&re* of their Freedom. The Nobility and Persons of Distinction had elegant Entertainments prepared. On Sabbath the 27th, the Ministers, fully assured of the grand Event, exerted themselves in holding forth the prodigious Evil of Rebellion, and setting out the Advantages of living under a Government regulated by Law; while the Nonjurant Clergymen, except three, among whom Mr. Keith, commonly called Bishop, locked up their Places of Worship, yet next Sabbath. viz. May 4th, these followed their Brethren. Some of the Dissaffected went to the Churches, more, it would seem, to censure than to hear; for, as Mr. John Glen, one of the Ministers of Edinburgh, a Gentleman of most extensive Benevolence and Probity, had read a Text from 2 Sam. Chap. xviii. v. 28, they began to sport and show a Disdain by their Looks, more significant than actual Expressions, for which Mr. Glen, though a very mild Man, reproved them in Words to this Purpose, " Strange, that the Enemies of our Constitution, " who cannot hear us with Pleasure, should come to Church " with a View to disturb those who are willing heartily to join, " not only in our ordinary Worship, but even in rejoicing for " our great Deliverance." The other Towns in Scotland imitated the Metropolis, and the other Ministers followed the Example of the Brethren there.

The Episcopal Clergy had no more an Opportunity to pray for the King, without naming him, tho' *G E O R G E* was expressly set down in the Liturgy they used. And here I might speak of them, even since the Reformation, but more especially since the Year 1638, when the great Assembly, at Glasgow, deposed six, and excommunicated eight of their Bishops; Libels of the blackest Nature being proven against them by Witnesses, whose Depositions took 16 or 18 Sheets of Paper to contain them. It would be tedious to mention their Conduct in general since that Time, and therefore shall only observe their Behaviour in our Day. That they blame our Constitution will scarcely be denied; and that the Faults of some have been laid open by them is certain. The Dispute about the Civil Wars from 1641 to 1646, and the Actions of King *Charles I.* and of *Cromwell*, tho' the most intricate in our Histories were generally explained by them, upon the 30th January, when their utmost Ingenuity and Learning were exerted to preach up that

King's darling Doctrine of Passive Obedience and Non-resistance, those of absolute, indefeasible, hereditary Right, (Names scarce known but to the Dissaffected in Scotland) to support this, Charters (as in the Case of *Robert III.*) are sought out, to discredit the Account of our Historians, who, if wrong in their Representation of a King, cannot be right in the Accounts of a Subject. The Theme, *viz.* that the King is only accountable to God, is maintained by them; which if true, would certainly destroy the *British Establishment*, if not our Liberty as Men. Forgeries are, thro' Mistake, used by them to prove the Worth of the *Royal Martyr*, from a Book called *The King's Picture*, (that is the English of the Greek Title by which it goes) they were sure to cull out Passages, and compare these with Quotations from the sacred Scriptures, and even the pretended Author, *viz.* the King, to the Prophets, yea, to the Son of God himself. The Declaration of Mr. *Alexander Henderson*, &c. Rector of the University of *Edinburgh*, that Ornament of Prudence and Learning, is quoted by them upon that Day, tho' the General Assembly, August 1648, have condemned that Paper, upon the most unexceptionable Evidence, as a calumnious Forgery and Lye. By these Methods, the Minds of their Hearers are filled with Rancour against the Presbyterians trained up in the Doctrines of their Ancestors, who, according to them, murdered the Person of the King of Great Britain, while the Independents severed from his Body the Head of Charles Stewart; and with the utmost Disdain did they speak of *Cromwell*, that Thunderbolt of War, tho' a merciful, a generous, and great Man, and as gentle in Victory as terrible in the Field.

Every Person in the Kingdom, except those dissaffected Gentlemen, or those few of the Roman Catholick Communion, who live among us, reaped Advantage from the great Decision. The Labourer could now with Ease pursue his innocent Toil, and with usual Gladness whittle to the Pleasure of it. Every one's Property now became secured by the Return of the Courts of Justice. The Poets and Orators of the Time began to exert their Talents, in publishing the Actions of the Hero; yea, some, who had no Turn for Poetry, were so enamoured with the ravishing News, as to try what they were Strangers to; a Latin Poem was published, in Honour of *Culloden Field*, which, as it was the single one, in that Language, upon that Occasion, shall be hereto subjoined.

But while almost all Ranks of Persons were rejoicing at the Return of their Blessings, he who was the second Source from whence they flowed, was busy in compleating what was wanting: From the Time of his entering *Inverness*, Prisoners in Troops were either brought to him, or submitted themselves. He is scarce two Hours in the Town, till six *French* Officers, who were not at the Battle, wrote a Letter to General *Bland*, surrenderring themselves and their Soldiers Prisoners of War. Next Day, Lord *Lewis Drummond*, the Marquis de *St. Guiles* the *French* Ambassador, and 49 other Officers followed their Example. And on the 18th, the Hound-Sloop arrived, with Lord *Cromarty* and other Prisoners now pouring out bitter Reflections, Curses and Imprecations, upon the Countess of *Sutherland*, a Lady of great Wit and Humour, whose least Quality was to be one of the greatest Beauties of her Age; for having ordered in a Dozen of Wine, to drink the Health of her Lord, at so unseasonable a Juncture; a Proclamation was emitted for all to submit to Mercy, and deliver up their Arms; the Ministers of the Parishes, where the Rebels resided, came in with them; on which they were dismissed; but the Grants of *Glenmoriston*, thro' Mistake of their Chieftain, were led into a Snare. As that Gentleman was reflected on, for what he is most innocent of, viz. cruel to his Clan, a Thing he noways deserves, it is proper to set the Matter in as true a Light as I can. Then, the Neutrality being broke, Mr. *Grant*, with about 500 of his Vassals, came into *Inverness*; they were sent into the Country of the *MacIntoshs*: The Grants in the Rebellion begged his Intercession in their Behalf; he repaired to his Royal Highness and told him, Here are a Number of Men come in with their Arms, who would have submitted to none in *Britain* but to me, viz. Mr. *Grant*. No, answered the Duke, " I'll let them know that " they are my Father's Subjects, and must likewise Submit to " me." So directly gave Orders to embark them with the other Prisoners, on board the Transports that had sailed along the Coast, keeping Sight of the Troops. On the 22d, these with a Minister of their Name, were shipped off for *Tilbury* Fort, while 310 of the *French* Prisoners were shipped off for *Newcastle*; the Pretender's Servants, having been only *French*, and not with him before his Arrival at *Versailles*, had Pasports give

given them to go home. A Court Martial sat for the Trial of some Officers and Soldiers, among whom Major *Grant*, formerly named. The Proof was so clear against him, that with Difficulty the Sentence was mitigated to declare him incapable and unworthy of the King's Service for the Future. Some private Men were hanged, and others pardoned, as Circumstances appeared favourable for them. The Sutherland Militia was sent into the *Aird* and *Strathglass*, while the *Argile* Shire Highlanders were ordered into *Lochaber*, *Moidart*, &c. and the Dragoons detached to guard the Coast.

The Houses of *Keppoch*, *Glengary*, *Clunie*, *Lovat*, and *Achnacartie*, were reduced to Ashes, the Mildness, yea, the Orders of the Officers not being able to prevent it. Numbers of Stragglers were taken, or surrendered themselves; among the First, Sir *James Kinloch* and his Brother were seized by the Hessians, as they were returning home, Mr. *Ker* of *Graiden*, a Colonel in the King of Spain's Service and several others; of the Latter, the Marquis of *Tullebardin*, and *Mitchell*, the Pretender's Valet surrendered to Mr. *Buchanan* of *Drumachail*, and were committed to *Dumbarton* Castle, till an Opportunity offered of transporting his Lordship to *London*, where he was confined to the Tower, and soon died of a Flux; leaving his Advice to the Pretender not to make any further Attempts upon a Nation who were generally so averse to him. Lord *Balmérino* gave himself up to the *Grants*; he continued at *Inverness*, till, with *Kilmarnock* and *Cromarty*, he was sent by Sea to *London*, where different Appartments were assigned them.

Things being in this Situation, our Deliverer set out for *Fort Augustus* on the 25th, where he staid for a considerable Time, and was the very Life of the Soldiers, amidst these hideous Desarts. Parties were frequently sent out to search for the Pretender; but by Means of Morasses, and interjacent Lakes, he always escaped, and went in an open Boat from *Arisaig* to *Canna*, where he waited some Time, keeping a good Look-out, for Fear of being surprized. It was the Adventurers Misfortune to be absent when Opportunities presented themselves of getting off; for on the 4th May, two French Men of War arrived off the Coast of *Arisaig*, and went up to *Loch Nuay*, not knowing the Disaster that befel him; about 40,000 *Louis d'Ors* were landed in Specie for the Use of his Troops,

Troops, on which a Meeting was held among the Chieftains, at which it was agreed, to gather again into a Body, and the Money was distributed among them ; but afterwards, observing how hard it was to muster any considerable Forces against the Duke's victorious Army the Project came to nought.

About this Time, a small Ship, having observed two Men of War, sailed up to the Gray-hound and Baltimore, who immediately weighted Anchor, and came to the Entrance of the Loch, where being joined by the Terror, they came up to the Ships, who fired first a Gun at them, to which they got no Answer ; then hoisting *French* Colours, one of them fired a Broadside. The Gray-hound, by this Time, was between the two, who plied her close, and were plied in their Turn ; and without Doubt, she must have fallen a Sacrifice, had not the other two racked the *French* Vessels so much afore and aft, as obliged them to send their Long-boats ashore, for Parties of Highlanders, then lying near them. The King's Ships, observing this, sheered off, with their Masts and Riggings much shattered, in quest of the Furnace to renew the Attack ; but before they returned, the two *French* Men of War, had sailed away, with the Loss of 59 Men, highly disgusted at the Disingenuity of the Highlanders, who did not inform them of the real State of the Chevalier's Affairs, till the Money and Effects were landed, and the Sea Engagement was past. However they carried off some of the Officers, that were there, to confirm the News of the Defeat of the Rebels.

In the mean time the Parliament were examining such of the Rebel Prisoners as were brought before them, in order to discover the Rise and Spring of the late Troubles, and on the 8th, attainted the following Persons of High Treason, viz. *Perth*, the Earl of *Kellie*, *Strathallan*, and his Son, Lords *Elcho*, *Pitflogio*, *Nairn*, *Ogilvie*, Lords *George Murray*, *John Drummond*, and *Lewis Gordon*, the Master of *Loroat*, *Graham Viscount of Dundee*, *Mercer of Aldie*, Sir *William Gordon of Park*, Secretary *Murray*, *Glenbucket*, *Locheill* and his Brother, *Cameron of Torcastle*, and of *Dungallow*, *Clanranuald*, *Keppoch*, *Barisdale*, *Glencoe*, *Clunie*, *MacLauchlan*, *MacKinnon*, *Ardbiell*, and the other Officers of their Family, *Gask*, *junior* and *senior*, *young Carnwath*, and *Airth*, *Roy Steuart*, *Farquharson of Monalstry*, *Drumraglass*, with some few others, known only by their Names, and appointed

pointed them to be prosecuted, unless, before the 12th July, they should surrender themselves. None of these suffered, they having either escaped or complied; among the latter was Secretary *Murray*, who having been disgusted at the Pretender, for turning him out of his Office, and substituting one Mr. *Hay* in his Room, had begun to think of being avenged for the Affront; some say he even wrote to those in Power, with an Offer of his Person, provided his Life should be spared. His Proposal was agreed to, and the better to palliate the Matter, Mr. *Murray* was apprehended by a Party of Dragoons, June 28th, and conducted to Edinburgh, and confined to the Castle till July 7th, that he set out, under a strong Guard for London; where, on Examination, he made such Discoveries, as he had come to know in the Course of his being nominal Secretary of State. In July, a 2d Bill of Attainder passed against 44 Persons, among whom Lord *Lovat*, Sir *James Steuart* of *Goodtree*, and other Gentlemen.

Upon the 20th, the Judges sat at St. Margaret's Hill, for the Trial of Col. *Townley*, and some Officers of the *Manchester* Regiment. The Crown Lawiers opened up the Indictment; and tho' the Council assigned them used their utmost Ingenuity, yet all was vain, since the Plea of being in the French Service was unanimously over-ruled. *Townley*, and three more, according to Sentence were hanged, drawn and quartered. On the 1st of September, the Judges had a Commission of finally judging and trying the Rebels who were brought to *Carlisle*.

Three very eminent Lawiers went from Edinburgh to plead for them. The Judges gave them the utmost Indulgence; every Plea the Prisoners adduced, either to alleviate or exculpate, was sustained. To give one Instance, Major *MacDonald*, who was taken at *Falkirk*, in the very Act of Rebellion, pled he was forced out; and tho' this was the most improbable Defence, in so far as People who force one must be supposed to weaken themselves, by guarding the Person compelled; yet they sat six Hours upon it; the Jury, being inclosed, brought him in Guilty in two Minutes. Here, of 105 that were tried, 30 suffered, and 60 obtained the Royal Mercy, and the rest were affoizied at the Bar. From thence they went to York, where the Jury acted with remarkable Integrity; but there, as at *Carlisle*, the Proof of the Facts was so clear, that it was impossible

to withstand it. Among these, the Trial of two Frenchmen came on ; their Defence was, That in the Nature of the Thing they could not be constructed Traitors to King George, as they had not sworn Allegiance to him. The Plea of the one was sustained, as he had come with the Pretender's Party in the Heat of the Rebellion ; That of the second was repelled ; as a Distinction was made, that tho' he owed the King of Britain no natural, yet he was due a local Allegiance, having come over under the Protection of the Dutch General, who landed with Auxiliaries for Support of his Majesty. On this, the Libel was found relevant, and he condemned ; but on his Way to the Gibbet a Pardon was brought him. Here of 74, five were acquitted, and 20 suffered. About ten, who were tried at Southwark, were executed. In short, only 60, by Course of common Law, were put to Death, for rebelling against a King, who had reigned 18 Years according to LAW. Whereas 500 suffered, Anno 1685, for rising in Arms against King James-II. or VII. who had not been five Months upon the Throne, in which Time he had broke thro' the very Fundamentals of the Constitution. But the greatest Trial was that of the Earls of Kilmarnock and Cromarty, with Lord Balmerino, before the House of Lords, July 28th. All the Formalities for trying Peers were observed. The Chancellor was appointed Lord High Steward. The Prisoners being brought to the Bar, the two Earls pleaded Guilty ; but his Lordship refused the Charge ; on which a Proof was adduced, and being asked if he had any further Defence, he declined. They were condemned to die. But before Sentence was pronounced, Cromarty made a Speech very moving in itself, but not very moving in the Manner it was uttered. Kilmarnock, being a Nobleman of great Address, charmed all who heard him. Great Interest was made for the two Earls ; but Cromarty's Party prevailed ; and on the 18th August, Kilmarnock and Balmerino were beheaded on the Tower-Hill, before a prodigious Multitude ; the former behaved penitently, and as one conscious of his Guilt ; but the other with great Heat and Resolution, as if Death was nothing at all. The next remarkable Trial was that of Lord Lovat, who was taken in the Trunk of a Tree, with a Pair of Blankets about him, in the Midst of a Lake : He was escorted to London, confined to the Tower, was tried, &c. and

on an irresistible Evidence condemned, March 11th 1747, and on the 9th April, was beheaded on the Tower-Hill. He died with little Concern, and as most of those who suffered at York and Carlisle avowing the Cause in which he was engaged. I need not mention the Departure of the Hessians, after the Battle of Culloden; nor yet the Honour their Prince did the General Assembly, in gracing it with his Presence for an Hour, when he received their Compliments. The Letter wrote by his Majesty to them, thanking them for their Zeal, with that of his Royal Highness, are still upon Record.

The Hardships of the Pretender in his Flight, under the Protection of Mts MacDonald, are as uncertain as various, and not to be traced; only several Times he was near being taken; the Ships sent in quest of him have been at the very Shore where he was, but by means of Hillocks and rising Ground he always escaped, and on the 19th of September, as is said, got off in a French Privateer to Boulogne. His Royal Highness had really judged him to be dead; for on the 20th July, he set out from Fort Augustus, with 50 of Kingston's Horse, and by the Way of Edinburgh and Newcastle, arrived at London upon the 25th, to the great Joy of the Court. He declined all publick Acknowledgements, and only received the Freedom of some Cities, such as Edinburgh and Newcastle, which were presented in Gold Boxes.

And now that he is at the Head of our Armies, it is the Duty of every British Subject to pray to the God of Battles, that his Success may be as great Abroad as at Home; that so Laurel after Laurel may surround the Head of him, whom Europe yet admires.

